National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 9. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 8, 1865. WHOLE NO. 1309

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT $3.00 PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

5 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia.

LETTERS should be addressed to *Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman st., New York.

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

BLACK BALLOTS.

From the Missouri Republican.

THE vigor with which those who call themselves the "earnest men of the country" are agitating the subject of extending the right of suffrage to the blacks in the Southern States shows that they intend to make this a prominent issue in future political campaigns. Various arguments are presented why the negroes should be given the ballot. It is contended that they have always been loyal; that they have been greatly oppressed; that many of them have done the nation service in our armies; that there can be no certainty in the regeneration of the South unless these "loyal" people are permitted to swallow up with their votes the influence of those dangerous mischief-makers who got the country into its late troubles, etc. Different motives, too, exist in reference to the attainment of this object. Thus a religious newspaper called the *Christian Observer* declares that negro suffrage "will add *five hundred thousand Protestant* voters to the country." The most common consideration in favor of the doctrines is probably, however, the belief that it will add that number of *Radical* votes to the country. Those who would like to see the national debt repudiated advocate the proposition, as they think the negroes, being irresponsible, would be with them on that question. And so a diversity of reasons may be given why the "earnest men of the country" are for allowing the negroes to vote, independendent of the ostensible one professing to look to the advancement of "great moral ideas."

We consider that the enfranchisement of the negroes, instead of being a blessing to them, would be an unmitigated curse. While in their condition of ignorance as to the workings of Government, and as to nearly all questions of political economy, they could derive no real satisfaction from the exercise of suffrage, they would be constant subjects of deception, and the dupes of innumerable schemes of demagogues and rascally intrigue. Eventually, as we verily believe, the blacks of the South would be influenced absolutely by their late masters, and so vote against the very party who put the ballots in their hands. At all events, the great mass of them would go up to the polls wholly in the dark with reference to any principle their votes might decide.

But, to the charge of ignorance on the part of blacks, answer is made that many white men are allowed to vote who neither write nor read, and who have no greater comprehension of the science of Government than the emancipated slaves. We suppose this is true; yet all know that the proportion of white men who cannot read to those who can is very small, while with regard to the negroes the ratio is more than reversed. In this country women do not vote, yet because hundreds of thousands of them understand public affairs much better than hundreds of thousands of men who do vote, few contend that the elective franchise should be conferred upon women. The New York *Tribune*, we see, declares there is real, demonstrable relation between the right to vote and the right to *eat*, and while men have the privilege of voting, which is denied to the other sex, women have to work for less wages, and find it much more difficult to procure agreeable employment. If the *Tribune* is driving at a project to allow women to vote as well as men, in order that their wages may be increased and more avenues of respectable labor opened up to them, we presume that paper would not confine this negro suffrage to white women, but extend it to negresses also. In this way our latter-day reformers, the "earnest men of the country," are running into all manner of ridiculous and repulsive fancies.

But there is no denying this negro suffrage question is becoming a live issue in the politics of the day. It certainly bids fair to become so in Missouri, where the "party of great moral ideas" assumes to stand in the "fire-front" of the army of progress. Yet it is somewhat remarkable that the *Missouri Democrat*, which calls itself the organ of this party, has thus far maintained an embarrassed silence on the subject of negro voting. Such reticence betrays either a lack of confidence in the result of making the issue, a cowardice in relation to promulgating its opinions on the subject, or else dissent from the doctrine. Our cotemporary, however, cannot long ignore the question, and we shall patiently wait from day to day for it to define its position. Come, Mr. *Democrat* speak out!

DEMOCRATIC OPINION OF THE NEGRO.

[The Richmond correspondent of the N. Y. *World*, quoting Gen. Terry's order, says:]

THE shock which this order produced in the public mind here can hardly be realized. Theft, falsehood, and crime, entire disregard of the obligations of an oath, are features in the negro character as prominent and abiding as his color. Men who have held positions in connection with courts of law in the South for over thirty years, avow that not in one instance out of a thousand did they observe any regard for the sanctity of an oath by that class. Whenever they happened to tell the truth under oath, it was when the truth comported with their own prejudices, predilections, or interests, or under the threat of punishment, if it should be discovered that they testified falsely. As to any moral or religious obligation in connection with an oath, they recognized none; and this fact was so well known in the South as to have caused their word and oath to be disregarded alike—both distrusted and disbelieved, save where circumstances favoring their statements were found to exist. And yet this is the class whose evidence Gen. Terry says shall be received before military courts "in all cases." The negro is the most resentful of all vicious animals. He is no less impressive, and if he has had no cause of resentment toward his former owner or anybody else, he will be made to believe that he has, by some one more enlightened of his fellows, at whose bidding he is ready to do anything.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

[The New York *Times*, in a long article on the subject, says:]

"IT is sheer quackery to make negro suffrage the sovereign *panacea* of Southern ills. Whether it would have any good effect at all—whether, in fact it would not do far more harm than good—is very doubtful. The worst evil of the South, as President Johnson clearly pointed out to the South Carolina delegates on Saturday, has been its class rule. A few thousand men in each State have owned most of the cultivated soil, have held most of the wealth, have had the control of the legislation and civil administration, and have kept not only black men in physical bondage, but the great mass of the white men in almost total ignorance, and in almost complete servitude, mental and moral. This oligarchic power has practically shut out all the republican influences which have so mightily elevated all other parts of the country. The great problem now is how to break up that power? * * *

"It has been said by some discerning Union men of the South that there could be no surer way of perpetuating the old-class rule of the South than the bestowing the suffrage upon the plantation laborers—that it would practically give the planter, who has now but a single vote, ten or fifty, or a hundred votes. Whether this would prove to be the case, we cannot yet say. The relations between the race since emancipation have not yet taken definite shape enough to justify a settled conclusion. But we do say that no one has any right to assume that the negroes, having the suffrage, would vote to suit Northern men a thousand miles away, whom they never saw, and against the wishes and purposes of their employers. All the antecedent probabilities are against it. The assumption has nothing but vague speculation and empty hope to rest upon. To depend, under present developments, upon negro suffrage as the great means of reorganizing the South, is sheer empiricism.

"We are sure that immigration is a far more rational and safe process of regenerating the South than any sudden and compulsory admission of the blacks to the ballot-box. It involves no overthrow or even disturbance of State rights. It carries with it no prolongation of an arbitrary military rule. It does not exasperate the poor whites, and convert them and their children into life-long enemies. What is best of all, it will accomplish the end in view, beyond all possibility of failure; whereas, the mere gift of suffrage to the freedmen might, and probably would, only aggravate the very evils that keep the South depressed. It is true that some little time would be necessary to produce an extensive flow of emigration to the South, and to realize its results. But considering the immense interests at stake, affecting untold generations in the future, we can afford to take a little time. Ten years is but an insignificant point, as measured by the period which will be affected, for good or evil, by our method of dealing with this business. Hasty action, in a matter of such magnitude, is almost sure to be unwise action."

Selections.

SHALL THE NEGRO VOTE?

From the N. Y. Daily News, June 28.

THIS great and vital problem in statehousehold, is now, by the irreversible logic of events, imposed upon the Southern States for their consideration and prompt determination. It is a question upon the policy of which all may be permitted to speak. But it is clearly one for the States—and the States alone—each for itself to determine. The *News* can fairly claim to be the exponent here of Southern opinion and interest. That claim will be allowed in the South—it will scarcely be denied here. Indeed, it would be wrong for us to withhold our voice at this crisis in the settlement of Southern affairs and polity. We feel a responsibility on this question, which a long and perilous advocacy, through more than four years of "intestine strife and civil butchery," has placed upon our soldiers. Yet, we have no hesitation to declare our opinion on this matter, for we see plainly where the true way lies for the interests of the country and the South, and the consequent restoration to the South of her natural political forces. It is to take up and establish that policy regarding the black man which the statesmen of the South desired to incorporate into the supreme organic law of the Union, when the Constitution was formed, and from the accomplishment of which they were withheld by the Northern crafty suggestion of what Hamilton calls "the compromising expedient of the Constitution," and by the ultimate adoption of which "expedient" the slave States threw away two-fifths of a great source of political power, and introduced into our national scheme of government that idea of ever recurring compromise through which the South has had, at each new exigency of her life, to barter with the North, that she might preserve her rights and just balance of power. The era of compromise has passed. The Southern States now, at last, must be allowed to stand fairly and firmly on their constitutional basis. President Johnson has declared as the fixed doctrine of the national government that these States, as *States*, have lost nothing of their inherent power by the insurgency of persons within those States—that the offense adheres to the individual, not to the State—that the insurgent *may* be punished, but that the State is a moral political essence, incapable of committing a crime, and by its very nature is beyond the reach and the effects of punishment. States, like Milton's angel, "vital in every part, can, but by annihilation, die." So we are instructed by this highest, and, therefore, most competent authority. During the rebellion the powers of the State rested in abeyance, and now, armed resistance to the Federal authority having ceased, the State, by its own inherent force, resumes its activity, and takes up the peculiar and native functions of its ancient political existence. This is sound doctrine, common sense, and is easily comprehended. It clears the atmosphere, and enables us to see the surrounding objects in their real relations to each other, and to reach the old familiar ways to which we would return.

On this question we take our stand with Mr. Johnson. This position, so protected, cannot be flanked.

Now, this problem of negro suffrage seems to be disturbing the charitable minds of the inveterate philanthropic patriots of the Republican party and of the War Democracy. They seem to be disposed to settle the matter for the South among themselves. In this determination it seems that, so far as they are concerned, the powers of the National Government and of the Southern States are not to be consulted at all. Mr. Richard H. Dana, Jr., "of the Boston Bar," the author of "Two Years Before the Mast," was, in length, if not in breadth, the chief orator at the recent meeting in Faneuil Hall, and he proclaimed that *the National Government* had the power to superinduce upon the institutions of the Southern States the *gift* of the elective franchise to the liberated black man. In that opinion the National Administration does not seem to agree with this orator; indeed, the whole argument suggests that Mr. Dana was trying to find his way through a region with which he had no previous acquaintance, and that a very good sailor has been lost in a very talkative attorney. Advice from such quarters, and accompanied by the language of intimidation and the strut of brief authority, will effect nothing toward attaining the end which this orator professes to have in view. Again, it is not to be concealed that the people of the South feel themselves aggrieved by such papers as *The World*, which, pretentiously and without authority, or even accurate information as to the real condition of opinion among the people of the South, yet persist in speaking, as it were, a friendly word for them, and advocating what they assume to be the Southern interest. The *Times* says, that "the *Union men* of the South are almost universally taking ground against all colored suffrage whatever." And *The World* has an idea that those recently in rebellion are equally universally against negro suffrage. If we take both of these papers to be true exponents of those whose opinions they profess to represent, we would have to believe that the South is united in opposition to the elective franchise being extended to the negro. But such is not the real state of the case. It involves only negro suffrage—not social equality. We could mention many more than fifty leading men in the Southern States who seriously consider this the day and hour when the preservation and stability of Southern interests impel them to return on this subject to the ancient policy of the early Southern statesmen. They know and acknowledge that slavery in their States is of the past. They reluctantly accepted this effect of the war. *But they do accept it*, and are by no means reluctant to conform their methods of State policy to the changed condition of public affairs. Henceforth they enter upon a new era of Southern prosperity. We believe that this prosperity, yet to be developed, will, in the future, be, as the result of Southern industry and intelligence was in the former time, a fruitful source of riches to the whole country. The old condition of things, upon which rested the splendid superstructure of Southern power, is gone; but in negro suffrage the acute and well-instructed Southern statesman beholds a new world of political power, and he will, under wise and fostering regulations, "call that New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old!" This, gentlemen of Boston, Messrs. Editors of *The World* and *The Times*, is the new policy which even now is dawning, though in clouded majesty, along the Southern skies, and before the full day of which, may be, the Northern Lights are destined to pale.

Now, we have said that the question of *power* is with the States, distinctively and separately. We know what the Government declares on this subject; but, from among those whose opinions are in unison with President Johnson's, we especially call attention to the following from Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, in his recent speech at Circleville:

"Have you the power to do it under the Constitution of the United States? It is perfectly clear that, unless the powers of the Rebel States are changed or affected by the Rebellion [President Johnson maintains they are not changed thereby.—Ed], Congress cannot fix the qualification of a voter within a State. The Constitution provides for three elections: of President, of Senators, and of Representatives. The President is chosen by electors appointed in such manner as the Legislature of the State may elect. Senators are chosen by the people of the several States, and the electors of each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature. *If anything is clear, it is that the framers of the Constitution meant that each State should prescribe who should vote.*"

Thus much for where the power resides.

What is the nature of this power? Is it not plainly one to *regulate*, by needful and necessary rules, the exercise of the elective franchise; and not a power to *create* the right itself? The *right* to vote belongs to each male citizen of twenty-one years of age. It is his by birth; and he, by operation of law, becomes a citizen of the United States, and entitled to all rights, privileges and immunities through the relations of his native State to the National Union. The elective franchise is his *inherent right*—the exercise alone is subject to State regulation. Congress has the exclusive power to make a uniform law of naturalization. By birth or by naturalization the relation of the citizen to the State and United States is created. The slave trade has been discontinued since 1808, and, therefore, we assume that the blacks in the Southern States are nearly all natives of this country. Heretofore nothing stood between them and full citizenship, but their condition of involuntary servitude: "the compromising expedient of the Constitution which regards them as *inhabitants*, but as debased *by servitude* below the equal level of *free* inhabitants, which regards the *slave* as divested of two-thirds of the *man*." Even under this "expedient" they bore a political relation, through their owners, to society, and were through them represented much in the mode in which an infant or married woman is related and represented through the father or husband. The exact legal and political condition of the slave *in this country* has not always been clearly appreciated. An eminent writer defines him to be "a person who is related to society through another person, called a master, to whom he owes due service or labor, and from whom he is entitled to receive support and protection." Nothing stood between the slave and *full* citizenship but this involuntary service—that impediment is gone through the actual operation of the war, and the liberated black stands, himself a citizen in his own proper person, and not through the relation of another "called a master." Then if the abstract right to vote inheres in every citizen, why not in the native black man? What rule of law denies him that right? Is it, candidly, in the power of the State or of the National Government to give or withhold the right? Is it not his absolute personal right *now that he is liberated?* And if it is his, who shall take it from him, or who shall come between him and the State of which he is a citizen? It, as all other civic rights, may be forfeited by an adequate crime. But this is common to all citizens.

The States of the South will, each for itself, according to their own honor and policy, and not at the impertinent dictation of outsiders, regulate this undoubted right, as New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, and other States regulate it; but with such humane, provident and economical regulations that this political power will not, in the hands of the South, be "a barren scepter in the grip."

To the consideration of the methods and rules of this regulation we cannot to-day allow space; our object in this article being to show that the States, North and South, distinctively and separately, have the absolute control of the power, and that the power is merely one for regulation.

FREEDOM AS AFFECTING THE RELATIVE POWER OF THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

From the Cincinnati Gazette, June 28.

To show how the war, in freeing the slaves, will increase the political power of the dominant class of the South at the expense of the North, unless the freedmen shall be enfranchised, we have constructed the following tables. The first table includes all the States in which slavery prevailed before the war, with the number of free negroes, the total of slaves, the proportion represented by adding "three-fifths of all other persons," and the number of slaves not represented before the war, but who will, under the abolition of that institution be added to the representative population, the same as all free persons.

States.	Free Negroes.	Slaves.	Three-fifths.	Two-fifths.
Delaware	19,829	1,798	1,079	719
Maryland	83,942	87,189	52,313	34,876
Virginia	58,042	490,865	294,519	196,346
N. Carolina	30,463	331,059	198,636	132,425
S. Carolina	9,914	402,406	241,444	160,962
Georgia	3,500	462,198	277,319	184,879
Florida	932	61,745	37,047	24,698
Alabama	2,690	435,080	261,048	174,032
Mississippi	773	436,631	261,979	174,652
Louisiana	18,647	331,726	199,036	132,690
Texas	355	182,566	109,540	73,026
Arkansas	144	111,115	66,669	44,446
Tennessee	7,300	275,719	165,431	110,288
Kentucky	10,684	225,483	135,290	90,193
Missouri	3,572	114,731	68,989	45,942
Total	250,787	3,950,511	2,370,339	1,578,172

This table shows us that under the census of 1860, with the ratio of one Representative in Congress to 124,183 persons, the slave States had a representation in that body of nineteen members derived from three-fifths of their slaves. That which they held as property, that to which they denied citizenship, gave them under the Constitution, the advantage over the free population of the North of nineteen members! We did not complain of this as it was one of the "compromises of the Constitution;" but now, when slavery is abolished and the great question of reconstruction is before the country, it is well to keep in mind this property power which the South had possessed from the foundation of the Government, equal to the whole political power in the House of the great State of Ohio. The total of three-fifths of the slaves of 2,370,339 divided by 124,183, the representative number, gives nineteen members as above stated.

We also see from the last column of this table the total of the two-fifths of the slaves that have not been added to the representative population, but which will be after the abolition of slavery. This total is 1,578,172, which divided by 124,183 gives 13 as the addition to the representative power of the South in the lower House of Congress!

If the freedmen should not be enfranchised, the old slaveholding class of the South, in addition to the absolute control they have hitherto possessed over the poor whites, will have the advantage over the North of thirty-two members of Congress, which these freedmen will give them.

The free population of the North, except negroes, carry votes to the ballot as well as members to the representative population. In respect to the free negroes, there is but little difference between the two sections. The following table gives the number of this class in the free States in 1860.

Maine	1,327	Illinois	7,628
N. Hampshire	494	Iowa	1,069
Vermont	709	Kansas	625
Massachusetts	9,602	Minnesota	259
Connecticut	8,627	Wisconsin	1,171
Rhode Island	3,952	Michigan	6,799
New York	49,005	Oregon	128
New Jersey	25,318	California	4,086
Pennsylvania	56,849	Nevada	45
Ohio	36,673		
Indiana	11,428	Total	225,764

The total here of 225,764 free negroes in the North is 25,023 less than 250,787, the total of free negroes in the South before the war; so that in respect to the practical power derived from this class, the slave States had the advantage.

The number of whites in the two sections in 1860 was as follows:

North	18,667,147
South	8,039,278

If we add the free negroes of the two sections, we had in 1860, of free persons in the

North	18,892,911
South	8,290,065

This population would give the North 152, and the South 67 members. This would have been the first proposition had slavery continued, though had not the South rebelled they would have continued to enjoy the advantage of the "compromises of the Constitution," and no objection would have been made by the North.

But under the abolition of slavery the South gains an accession of 13 members, as shown above; so that instead of the fair proportion of 67 members, that section will have for a voting population of 8,039,278, a representation of 99 members, while 120 per cent. more voting people in the North will have but 152 members, or 52 per cent. more than the South. Under freedom, therefore, without the enfranchisement of the freedmen, three voters of the South will be equal to seven at the North! Then, when it is considered that the old aristocrats of the South possess almost unlimited power over the poor whites, it will at once be perceived how powerful this ruling class will be made under freedom to all and votes only to a portion. This is on the supposition that those rebels are to be relieved from all political disability, and step forth in all the sovereignty they formerly possessed, with the addition to their power which is above described.

THE DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME "AS IT WAS."

IN a volumn entitled "Observations in the North," by Edward A. Pollard, which was in course of publication at Richmond at the time the city fell into Yankee hands, we find the following paragraph, which is worth preserving, as a part of the political history of the times. Mr. Pollard, who traveled about the North on parol for several months, and was in confidental intercourse with "sympathizers," says:

"No doubt can rest in history, that at the time of the Chicago Convention, the Democratic party in the North had prepared a secret programme of operations, *the final and inevitable conclusion of which was the acknowledgement of the independence of the Confederate States.* It was proposed to get to this conclusion by distinct and successive steps, so as not to alarm too much the Union sentiment of the country. The first step was to be the proposition of the 'Union as it was' in a Convention of States; if that was voted down, then the proposition of a new principle of federation, limited to the foreign relations and to the revenue; if that was rejected, then the proposition of an *inter-confederate Union* to preserve, as far as possible, by an extraordinary league, the American prestige; and if all these propositions, intended as successive tests of the spirit of the South, were to fail, then at last the independence of the confederate states, made the *sine qua non*, was to be conceded by the Democratic party of the North, as the last resort of pacification, and the one of two alternatives where their choice could no longer hesitate. It will be seen from this sketch of the programme that the design of the Democratic party was to get the North on the naked issue of war and separation.

"*The plan utterly failed in execution.* The fall of Atlanta gave a new lease to the war. And, aside from that event, it would have fallen through from the incoherence of the materials which, at that time, composed the Democratic party. 'In fact, the party, like all other Yankee minorities, went to pieces, and was swallowed up in the Presidential election, and may be said to have practically disappeared since then, from the political arena, where, if it shows itself at all now, it is only in mock combat."

MUDDLED.

From the Rochester Democrat.

An order issued by Brevet Brig.-Gen. Gregg, the officer commanding the military district of which Lynchburg, Virginia, is the head-quarters, is being published by the Southern presses with great satisfaction. It professes to give the freedmen an idea of their *status* under the new condition of affairs in that locality. They are told in the first place that though free they are still subject to the rules of the old Virginia slave code. They are not to remain on the plantations which their labor has made valuable, unless their former masters give them permission to do so; and immediately afterward they are told that they must not be idle or collect in the towns and cities. They will not be allowed to "run about at night from plantation to plantation;" and if necessary the military force of the United States will be used to enforce obedience to this clause. They may starve, but if they appropriate any of the food which they have raised by their labor on their masters' plantations, they are to be shot. And finally "they may as well understand first as last, that the government will not maintain them in idleness."

It does not appear that Brevet Brig.-Gen. Gregg has any scruples about allowing white rebels "to run about at night from plantation to plantation," or that he objects to their consuming the avails of the negroes' labor; nor has he anything to say against their being supported in idleness by the issue of government rations. It is only the black loyalists who are dangerous to the public peace, and unworthy of grace, in the sight of Brevet Brig.-Gen. Gregg.

THE DANGERS OF INJUSTICE.

From the Evening Post, June 29.

WE warn the workingmen of the northern States not to be misled by the politicians who attempt to influence them against free and equal suffrage. In the South, the planters were no sooner in the habit of justifying negro slavery than the more acute and logical of them began to claim that *all* laboring men ought to be slaves. In a little while this became the avowed position of the most advanced among the pro-slavery leaders, and at the beginning of the rebellion it was almost a general conviction. Just so the men who now wish to deny the right of suffrage to the blacks will presently go a step further, and seek to deprive also the laboring part of the white population of the same right.

Indeed, this desire and intention is scarcely concealed now; men confess that they oppose negro suffrage not because of the color, but because the suffrage ought to be restricted, and this is a step, and only a step, in a direction which they intend to follow up further. A prominent politician said to us the other day: "You democrats are all wrong in your theories of suffrage; instead of extending the franchise it ought to be curtailed; and for my part I should like to see every alien in the country deprived of it, henceforth and forever."

Now, this hostility to negro suffrage is largely an expression of the feeling against all popular suffrage; it is the beginning of a reactionary movement, against which we warn particularly that class whose prejudices are chiefly appealed to.

The negroes ought not to vote, say certain men; but let them once succeed in establishing the general principle that the suffrage may be limited, and that certain classes may be excluded from the polls, and they will be able to extend its application, and by some property or other qualification confine the franchise to a small part of the community, "the most intelligent," or "the property owners," or whatever it may be.

Before we begin with partial legislation we ought to ask ourselves where we are likely to end. The expediency of universal suffrage—though it would seem to have been settled forever by the events, and the wise and just decisions of the people, during the last four years—is now, more than ever before, a subject of general discussion. Let it once be decided by the people that the right to vote may be taken away from a large class of the population for no reason but the caprice of the majority, and we shall open the door to endless tinkering, and to yet larger measures of exclusion.

But, says some astute reader, no politician would be so mad as to attempt to narrow the franchise, and thus excite the hostility of the class he would exclude. Don't be too sure of that. There are politicians in the South as well as in the North; does any one imagine that these do not see the advantage of securing the negro vote, just as much as politicians here look after the Irish vote? They see it, but they think too that they can just now play an easier game by pandering to the prejudice against the blacks, and so they go for exclusion. Just so it will presently happen that similar unreasoning prejudices will be used and urged against another class, as a means of securing the favor and votes of a majority. Have we forgotten the sudden and general spread of Know-Nothingism a few years ago?

The only safe course for the workingmen of this country is to insist upon equal rights for all men before the law. Whenever one man can be compelled to work without wages, all workingmen are injured. Whenever a common right is attacked in the person of one man or class of men, all classes are endangered. Nor should it be forgotten that the very men in the South who oppose negro suffrage are they who have always desired to limit the suffrage by property qualification. It is not the blacks, but workingmen, of whatever color, that they despise and distrust. South Carolina was the model State for these exclusionists, where the people were not allowed to vote directly even for President or Governor, and only wealthy men could hold office, and only property-owners vote.

The attempt to deny the blacks the right to vote is, therefore, properly to be regarded as an attack, doubly dangerous because it is insidious, upon the rights of the whole laboring class in all the States. Exclude four millions of blacks to-day, and next year two millions of Irish, and next a million of Germans, and next the great bulk of the laboring classes will be excluded. Excuses will not be lacking. Now it is color, than which no pretence could be more absurd and unreasonable; but next it will be lack of education, and next lack of property, and so the game, once begun, will go on to the dreary end. Even now those who do not want the blacks to vote freely admit that a great part of the southern whites are as "unfit" as the negroes to exercise the right of suffrage. Wait, they say—one thing at a time; if we can keep the blacks out now we may presently go a step further. It is the first step which costs, says the French proverb, or which is the most difficult—and that once made, all the rest are easy.

A HOPEFUL CHANGE.

From the Albany Evening Journal.

GEN. TERRY, of Richmond, has announced that in his Department, as Slavery has become obsolete, all laws growing out from it cease to have force and effect. Therefore, the negroes are to be treated as free men. While vagrancy will not be permitted, blacks are to be allowed the same freedom as whites—equal privileges in seeking employment, like advantages in public schools, and the right of making suit and appearing as witnesses before the Courts. This is a wise policy, and a necessary and a logical sequence of emancipation, unless Slavery is to be continued in another form under the name of Freedom. The adoption of such measures suggests that a happy exchange for the country was made, when the captor of Fort Fisher superseded Gen. Halleck.

In pursuance of a like principle, Gen. Hartsuff, commanding at Petersburg, has issued an order forbidding any more meetings of planters in his department to regulate the wages of negroes, or to make unjust discriminations between blacks and whites in the labor market. This is simple justice. We say the negro is a free man. If so, he has the right to sell his services at his own option, and to secure the best price he can obtain for them. What would the white laborers and mechanics of the North say, if they were compelled to work for compensation varying from twenty-five to forty cents a day, and driven from their homes or locked up as vagrants, if they refused to accept such remuneration? And if the late slaves have been made freedmen—if all the distinctions growing out of the system of chattelism have been obliterated—upon what principle can any such combination against them be justified, which would not apply equally well to working classes everywhere?

The Freedmen's Bureau at Washington lately sent an agent to South Carolina, to study the condition of the blacks there. He returns with a report that they "are willing to work, and the masters are ready to employ them, so soon as some basis can be agreed upon." It strikes him that seven dollars a month would be fair pay for able-bodied field hands, with a scale graduated downward for others less valuable. The first payment, in his view, should be made in October. In other words, the rate of wages is to be less than thirty cents a day, and even this, the worker is not to receive for three months—supporting himself in the meanwhile, probably, on faith! The conclusion is inevitable, that this agent is either a natural-born fool, or that he is in the planters' scheme to make the condition of the enfranchised blacks odious and uncomfortable as possible. If the work of the Freedmen's Bureau is to be performed by such agents, the sooner it is abolished, the better. An article in De Bow's Review for October, 1859, shows that in this very Sea Island district, where the liberal agent thinks seven dollars a month would be a sufficient compensation, there were at that time over one thousand slaves who hired their time from their masters, paying them an average of fifteen dollars a month for the same, and making money by the operation. The wages then paid, during the busy season, ran from a dollar to ten shillings a day.

What is required, is a definite policy of the government in this matter, which shall apply equally to every military department, and which will operate everywhere to protect the blacks from cruelty and extortion. Now, the subject is left to the discretion of the General commanding in a department, and if he happens to be a pro-slavery man, the blacks under his jurisdiction suffer as a consequence. For instance, while Gen. Terry and Gen. Hartsuff announce to the planters that the days of their arbitrary power are ended, and the independence of the negro and his equality before the laws must be recognized, Gen. Herron, down in Arkansas, promulgates an order compelling the freedmen to go to work for their former masters, at wages which they have established—thus virtually decreeing that the ordinance of emancipation shall be of none effect. The President has it in his power, through his military subordinates and through the Provisional Governors of the several States, to put a stop to inconsistencies so glaring, and evils so flagrant. The freed people form the weaker party. They are objects of hatred by the white aristocracy, and will become subjects of hateful oppression, unless the strong arm of the government is extended for their protection. We owe it alike to ourselves and to them, to see that they have a fair opportunity for development in their new condition.

THE FREEDMEN AND THEIR MASTERS.

From the Cincinnati Gazette, June 23.

In regard to the combination of Virginia farmers to fix the wages of negro laborers at $5 a month for field hands, a correspondent of the Washington Chronicle states that in the same counties in former times field hands were hired of their owners at from eighty to one hundred and fifty dollars a year, the hirer finding clothing, and being obliged to pay for the full year, taking the risk of sickness and death. Now at five dollars a month the laborer is required to clothe himself and pay his doctor's bills. He also states that last winter, after the constitutional amendment had gone into operation in Maryland, by which slavery was abolished, meetings of the planters were held in the lower counties at which an agreement was made to pay double the wages now fixed by the Virginians, and yet this was generally deemed too small, and was not adhered to.

These wages appear to be upon a policy that is to show the country that freedom is worse for the negro than slavery, and to take vengeance on the blacks for emancipation. They are enforced by an agreement not to employ any negro except by permission of his former owner, and to hold any person who does so an enemy to society. This with a code of black laws, including laws to punish and return vagrants—classing every negro away from his master a vagrant—would be slavery without the obligation to support the slave.

To give additional smoothness to this, and the moral aid of the Government, it should be attended with frequent admonitions from the military authorities to the negroes that freedom means work. It might be well to add, "work at five dollars a month," just as we used to claim for Northern laborers, "roast beef and two dollars a day."

Another agreement of the Virginia farmers, to make the system work smoothly, is that no land will be rented to the negro under any consideration. So it is stated by the Richmond *Times*. The masters who, continually affirm that the negro will not work when free, have to make a combination against him lest he may hire land and pay the rent, and acquire property. It seems to us that a mild application of confiscation would be the best way to modify that combination, and to throw open the lands to those who are willing to work them.

The Alexandria *Journal* says the combination on $5 a month will not succeed; that the farmers will find themselves without laborers except the, lame, halt and blind, and that the plan of pacification and adjustment by giving to each slave a homestead upon the lands of his rebel master, has already the support of a powerful party, and nothing could tend more directly to promote its success than this meanness.

The Macon (Georgia) *Telegraph* says, from observation made in a visit to Southwestern Georgia, that reports as to the condition of the planters and negroes have been greatly exaggerated; that in the whole of Mitchell county, but six negroes left their work for a single day, and three of them have returned to it; that at stations where there are garrisons, the negroes are not allowed to come in the towns and loiter about the streets; that most of them have made up their minds that they must work to keep themselves from starving, and they obey cheerfully; and that some of the influential planters have already made equitable terms with their negroes, and propose establishing stores among them that they may be supplied with everything necessary for their comfort. Throughout that section the crops promise abundantly.

This is almost too good and seems to mean that in that section the old relation has not been disturbed, and that it now has the moral support of our garrisons. "Some of our influential planters have already made equitable terms with their negroes," which implies that most of the planters have made no terms at all with their negroes, but are working them on the old system.

The Lynchburgh *Virginian* says "the slaves in Virginia, regarding themselves free, and no longer subject to the control of their masters, are entering into engagements to labor for wages;" but not all, for many are so demoralized by the change that they have taken to idleness, have deserted the plantations and crowded the cities, &c. The military are taking measures to correct this evil, but, in addition, every civil magistrate "should be permitted to hold a rod *in terrorem* over these wandering, idle creatures."

But the same journal says the combination wages are not enough; that the hire of field hands from the owners was formerly $100 to $150 a year, including clothes, and that time was not deducted for sickness; that at $5 a month the freedman will have to work the whole year to clothe and shoe himself, and if he should be sick would have nothing to help himself with.

The Virginian naturally looks upon this combination against the freedman as an organized resistance to emancipation, and it advises the farmers to do one thing or the other, either abandon the institution of slavery, and pay living wages, or, it says, "Those who do not concur, and are unwilling to pay living wages to the negro, should test their rights before the Supreme Court, where it could possibly be shown that the legal status of the slave has been no more changed than that of the free white man."

Why not? And if, as General Logan argued to the New York meeting, President Johnson, because he holds that the States have never been out of the Union, nor reduced to Territories, cannot therefore interfere to regulate any domestic relation that they have before had the exclusive control of, what has been legally done to change the status of slavery in Virginia; or how can he interfere to prevent their regulating a relation which they have had the power to regulate from the formation of the Government to the present time?

The Richmond *Times* says "The military have at last taught CUFFEE that liberty does not mean unlimited army rations, idleness and vice." The question of wages is yet a vexed one, and contracts with the freedmen for future labor are very unreliable. It commends this subject to the Freedmen's Bureau, to provide some compulsory method to make the negro keep his engagements.

Thus we observe that where the condition of slavery has not been disturbed it is quite satisfactory, and that the reports that the negroes in those sections would not work were an "exaggeration." We observe, also, that emancipation, with $5 a month wages for field hands, is not intended to work smoothly, but is a way the former owners have of keeping up the pro-slavery fight; and that it requires the re-enforcement of an exclusion of the negro from the right to rent land to work for himself, and of a menace that whoever hires a negro who has left his owner will be frowned upon by the community; and we know something of what the frown of the pro-slavery class means upon any person who disturbs slavery. We observe, generally, that instead of desiring a settlement upon the acceptance of existing facts, the slaveholding class is making a conflict with the determination to reinstate slavery, and that there will be no tranquility until this idea is taken out of them. In the meantime a way should be found to place the men who are willing to labor in possession of the land.

VIRGINIA.

From the Boston Journal.

THE following is an extract of a letter from an intelligent Southern Union man, enclosing a copy of the proceedings at the recent meeting at Alexandria, at which he was present. It sustains the statement made by Mr. Ashley of Ohio, which we published recently, and it shows the nature of the battle which is to be fought, not only in Virginia, but in nearly every State which has been in rebellion, and the necessity of the General Government adopting those measures which will put the State government into the hands of the loyal men:

"We feel that if the present system is continued, the State will fall back into the hands of those who carried it out of the Union, with very much more embittered feelings now than then. That if slavery is not reinstated in name, it will be in fact, and that the terrorism over those who dare to differ with them in opinion will be increased by that familiarity with carnage which has been acquired during the war.

"But it is not only this state of affairs that will be effected. Unles there be some restraint put upon secessionists besides the oath, and loyal men be allowed to vote, irrespective of color, you will not get a single loyal member of Congress from the seceded States. It is true, as George Sanders tells them, that *they have a majority at every voting precinct south of Mason and Dixon's line.* With such an element as this in Congress, what will be the effect on the public credit? How much tax will they vote to pay for their own subjugation? And what will Government securities be worth?

"No: the North was forced to arms, and to carry the war into the South in order to make their own firesides safe. In doing so, they saved the loyal Southern men for the time, and freed the slaves. Unless the Government extends its political power to the same extent, we and the freedmen will fall into their hands, and what treatment we may expect, the Andersonville prisoners can answer. We wish you to know what our condition is, and that our hope lays in the interest excited for us elsewhere."

At a subsequent meeting held at the United States Court Room in Alexandria on the 9th inst., the following resolutions were passed; and they express the opinion of the truly loyal men of the State:

"Resolved, That in the reorganization of the State-government of Virginia, it is essential that it be established upon such a basis as will effectually prevent it from coming under the control of those who have been voluntarily engaged in promoting the late rebellion against the government of the United States.

Resolved, That the present current of events in the State of Virginia tends directly and speedily to place it under the control of those who have been voluntarily, actively and prominently engaged in said rebellion.

Resolved, That the right to change the fundamental law of a community is inherent in the people thereof, and, if not delegated, may be exercised by them at any time, and in the exercise of it all male citizens of the age of twenty-one years, who have not forfeited their rights by crime or otherwise, are entitled to participate.

Resolved, That the Constitution of Virginia should be so amended as to confer the right of suffrage upon and restrict it to loyal male citizens of the State, without regard to color; that such amendments is just in itself, and is indispensable to a sound reorganization of the State government."

GEMS FROM THE SLAVE CODE.

Correspondence Cincinnati Commercial.

THINKING it not inappropriate at the present time, when so

without such permit, shall be punished, by order of a Justice of the Peace, with a number of stripes not exceeding ten."

The object of the above humane provisions is to prevent slaves from accumulating, by their own industry, sufficient money to purchase their freedom.

"If any person, having the control of a house or plantation, shall knowingly permit or suffer any slave not his own, to remain in such house or upon such plantation, for the space of four hours, without the leave of the owner of such slave, he shall forfeit and pay ten dollars for every such offense. If such person shall permit more than five negroes, or slaves, not his own, at one time to remain in his house or on his plantation, he shall forfeit one dollar for each negro."

"If any free person shall be found in company with slaves or negroes at any unlawful meeting, or shall harbor any slave without the consent of the owner, he shall forfeit and pay fifteen dollars for each offense. If a slave harbor the slave of another person, he shall, upon conviction by the judgment of a Justice of the Peace, be punished by stripes, not exceeding twenty."

"Riots, routs, unlawful assemblies, breaches of the peace, and seditious speeches by slaves, shall be punished by a number of stripes not exceeding thirty-nine, upon conviction by the judgment of a justice of the peace."

"If a slave shall go from the residence of his owner without a written permit specifying the place to which such slave is licensed to go, and the time of absence, he may be apprehended, taken before a justice of the peace, and punished by stripes not exceeding thirty-nine, at the expense of the owner.

"If a slave, without leave, in writing, from his owner, shall come upon the premises of a free white person, not being sent on lawful business, the owner of such premises, or the manager of the same, may punish such slaves for each offence by the infliction of ten stripes."

"If any negro shall keep or convey a gun or other deadly weapon, powder, or shot, the same may be seized by any free white person, and, upon due proof thereof before a justice of the peace, it shall be forfeited, and vested in the person seizing; and, if the negro offending be a slave, he shall, by a judgment of a justice of the peace, be punished by stripes, not exceeding thirty-nine; if a free negro, fined five dollars."

Really, it appears from the above, that there is some danger of an ignorant darkey coming to the conclusion that slavery is not the most beatific condition possible; and taking steps by "unlawful assemblies" to get out of it.

"If a slave commit a larceny, he shall be punished with stripes on the bare back, not exceeding thirty-nine."

A slave convicted of felony, is punishable with death; but the State is obliged to pay his master the full money value of him. A slave convicted of aiding and abetting the crime of arson, is liable to two hundred stripes on his bare back; but the statute humanely provides than not more than fifty of them shall be given at one time.

A slave cannot marry without the written consent of his or her master, who may at any time annul the contract or separate the weddad couple.

Here is a circumstance worthy the attention of these eminent conservatives who have put themselves forward during the last four years as the champions of trial by jury: The Constitution of the United States says, (Article 5): "No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury," &c. The Constitution of Kentucky recognizes slaves as *persons*, and yet section 3, of article 10, of that instrument, contains this strange language: "In the prosecution of slaves for felony, no inquest by a grand jury shall be necessary."

A slave emancipated may be sold again into slavery to pay the debts of his former owner.

Here is an interesting fact for those who cry "negro equality" against the Emancipationists, to explain if they can: In every section of every law prescribing the punishment for rape, the word "white" occurs before "woman"—the inference of which is, plainly, that there is no such crime known to the law as the rape of a black woman, or a mulatto woman. The law-makers very wisely provided that an outrage upon a white woman by a black man shall be punished with death; but they ordained no chastisement for the white man who outrages a black woman. They knew very well that if they attempted to punish this latter offence, they would have to oppress the people continually with taxation for building penitentiaries.

I might make this a very long letter, by inserting, at length, the main features of the slave code of Kentucky; but I think I have given enough to show that it is a disgrace to the civilization of the country, and that it may, with consistency, be quoted fifty years from now, to show that the relics of the dark ages had not been entirely obliterated in the year of our Lord 1865.

MACK.

SECESSION AGAIN TURBULENT.

TROUBLES BETWEEN SOLDIERS AND NEGROES.—DISGRACEFUL SCENES ON ELECTION DAY.—SUCCESS OF THE REBEL TICKET.

THE special correspondent of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* says that since the retirement of Gen. Gordon, the city has been in a state bordering on anarchy. James L. Belote, Esq., who was elected Mayor some fifteen months ago, has had the control of city affairs since the withdrawal of the military power. Mr. Belote's brief term has been a stormy one. Disturbances between the white people and negroes have been of frequent occurrence.

The first riot took place on Thursday evening, the 22d. It originated in the circus pavilion, on the corner of Main and Granby streets. Just before the close of the performance a difficulty occurred between a United States soldier and a negro. The difference between them was of a trivial nature, but the soldier was soon joined by other companions, attracted by the angry words. The soldiers at once commenced beating the negro. Other blacks came to the rescue, and a general melee ensued. Clubs were freely used, and even knives and pistols came into requisition. The latter deadly weapons were mostly in the hands of the soldiers. The negroes employed cayenne pepper and maccaboy snuff, throwing pungent dust into the faces of their adversaries. Many brave boys in blue, who had passed unscathed through showers of bullets, were placed *hors du combat* by the snuff and pepper. Word was sent to Col. Howard, and he dispatched a guard of fifty men to disperse the rioters. The guard executed their duty without difficulty. Four persons were seriously injured in this row.

The day before the election there were sporadic street fights during the entire day on the 23d, generally between the soldiers and the blacks, but nothing more serious occurred till 10 o'clock on Friday evening, when a terrible fight broke out on the vacant lot at the corner of Main and Granby streets, the identical spot where the riot of the night before took place. The combatants were white men wearing the United States uniforms (their caps displaying neither corps badges nor regimental numbers) and negroes. The fight was short, sharp, and decisive.

The negroes were badly beaten, and fled in wild disorder. Then ensued a scene that beggars description; the flying negroes were chased by the victorious soldiers, and beaten without mercy. Men in citizen's clothes joined in the unequal pursuit. Twenty-five white men running after one negro was the order of pursuit. Main street resounded with the cries of "Hang him," "Kill him," "D—n the nigger." When the negroes were overtaken they were knocked down and mercilessly kicked and trampled. Some of the frightened, flying negroes attempted to enter stores for refuge. The proprietors generally closed the doors in their faces, fearing that the pursuers would enter their warerooms. In some instances negroes were struck down in friendly doorways and beaten. It is impossible to learn if any of the negroes were fatally injured. After their pursuers had beaten them to their heart's content, the bleeding victims would crawl away to their hovels, no white person daring to tender them assistance.

At last the streets were cleared of the inoffensive negroes. The rioters, white soldiers and citizens, then went to a well-known and respectable restaurant on Wide Water street, near Roanoke square. This establishment was kept and frequented by colored people, was very well furnished and fitted up, and had a fine ball-room attached to it. It was midnight when the rioters, now composed of Rebel as well as Union soldiers, arrived at the restaurant. It was closed for the night. The door was beaten down, the shutters wrenched off, and the rioters entered. The mirrors, decanters, glasses and crockery ware were smashed to pieces, the counters and tables were broken to pieces and thrown into the street; in short, everything of value was ruthlessly destroyed. Not a rioter was arrested; no active interference was attempted; not an armed soldier was to be seen. Acting Mayor Belotes' police stood two squares off, springing their rattles. They could do nothing else, being too weak in numbers to quell the riot, or even make the attempt. The total demolition of the restaurant appeased the fury of the mob and they soon after dispersed.

Election day dawned brightly over the lawless city; the polls were opened, and the election began. The scenes at the polls were simply disgraceful, a broad burlesque. Never did we see or hear of such voting. Scores of men voted who wore the Rebel uniform, brass buttons and all. They took the Alexandria oath, though they were in arms against the government as late as last April. Gentlemen who have lived in Norfolk for two years, and served two years in the Union army, were compelled to take the Alexandria oath by the Secessionists at the polls. Every vile epithet in the language was bestowed upon the Union men. The old intolerant and defiant spirit of slavery was rampant. The negro was the great stalking horse of the "amnestied." All Northern residents and Union men are stigmatized as "Nigger worshippers." It was loudly threatened that all white men in favor of negro suffrage would be driven out of Norfolk within six months.

The long, bitter day ended at last. The "Tabb" or Secession ticket is elected; it has from 250 to 300 majority. The Union men say they were defeated by Lee's army. This assertion has a great deal of truth for its foundation. The second name on the "Tabb" ticket is that of Walter H. Taylor, late Adjutant-General on Lee's staff. W. H. Taylor is elected to the office of City Register, the second office of trust and importance in the municipality of Norfolk. John J. Lee, elected as Councilman on the same ticket, is an ex-Rebel military officer. Mr. Tabb himself, though he did not participate openly in the rebellion, is a "States Rights" man of the straightest sect. He defined his position in a speech at a public meeting in this city about four weeks ago. He said a great deal for Virginia and Norfolk, but not one word for the Union, not one word for the struggle, the triumphant close of which made glad the hearts of loyal men. Of course the amnestied all voted for Tabb. The votes of the uniformed Rebel soldiers were recorded under protest; but the protest will certainly be unheeded, so far as the dominant party in Norfolk is concerned.

THE POLICY OF THE PRESIDENT.

From the Chicago Tribune.

We confess our disappointment at the turn that affairs have taken. The line of policy chosen by the President has in it no recognition of the political rights of any colored man, no matter what his services in the great struggle, or his other qualifications for citizenship. He is ignored, and not that only—his fate is irrevocably trusted to the guardianship of those who hate him free with greater intensity than they coveted him as a slave; and we cannot get rid of the fear that reorganization is to take place in such a way and under such auspices as will not only lead to new and more extraordinary oppression of the emancipated slaves, but to political complications and crises that will restore to the rebels at the polls, with perfured oaths upon their lips, the power that they could not win in the field with muskets in their hands. The country, we think, if it had any specific wishes on the subject, desired delay until the subsidence of the ferment the war has created; until the number of qualified negro electors could be ascertained; until the black soldiers, to whom the ballot should indisputably be given, had returned to their homes; until the whites, outside of the slaveholding class, could see where their interest and safety lay; and until all traitors, touched by hunger and want, which they will yet feel, could view the situation with the coolness and dispassionate judgment that are now impossible. Meantime a military government, strong, and rigorously administered, would have been a guaranty of peace and security for those over whom it would have been exercised, that nothing else could afford. Under it the Union strength would have been steadily improved by the ardent struggles of the blacks for the boon held out to them, and by the emancipation of the poor whites from the errors and prejudices of their man-selling education; and, at last, when reorganization was entered upon, the country would have had assurance in fact that the work would be well done—done in accordance with the ideas of justice to white and black alike—done in such a way that no efforts could undo it, or make loyal concessions the means of overthrowing and destroying loyal power. In all this the central idea was negro suffrage to the extent we have indicated—the organization, in the heart of rebellion itself, of the strongest and most reliable element of the Union strength that the South contains, in such a manner that, holding the balance of power, it could be the arbiter of its own destiny.

The country is, however, invited to a banquet of another sort. The President, in the exercise of a right conferred upon him by the anomalous condition in which the United States are found—a right which includes the power to admit as well as to exclude—the negro vote—is attempting reorganization without that element of which we speak. He relies upon the sincerity of the rebels, when they loudly profess their newborn love for the Union cause, and upon the binding force of the amnesty oath. But we remember the deadly animosity with which, up to the hour they became dependent upon Union mercy for their lives, they were filled, and cannot now believe in their oaths, no matter with how many flourishes they are taken. He hopes (surely he can do no more) that the blacks needing employment, needing instruction, needing careful and Christian legislation, will be safe in the newly-washed rebel hands. We look back to the long years of oppression and wrong, the fierce and bitter prejudices of race, the exactions of slavery, and all the machinery of the Church, Society, and the State, by which the negro was kept just at the level of a working machine, and we shall be pardoned if we do not believe that these black children of the country, reft of all the rights of manhood that the war conferred, have not the guardians that their necessities and the honor of the Republic demand. He seems to believe that the notions of government and the Union which the South has heretofore entertained and which brought on the war, are to be replaced in a day by those better ideas by which secession and disunion have been overcome. We have assurances in the history of mankind that ideas are more enduring than parties, and that the heresies, the cause of so much woe, exist as before, and only wait an opportunity to recommence and accomplish their work. With a sublime indifference to the political future, he has apparently no apprehension of danger to the loyal cause, now in the second stage of its conflict with slavery, in the premature admission of all the rebel States into a sisterhood in which the loyal majority is already threatened; but we who know how and upon what elections turn, and how small a cause may overthrow the President, and all his friends, and substitute Vallandigham and his American Knights therefor, prefer to act the prudent part, and not yet wantonly throw away the chance for making the Republic free, happy, and unconquerable. *He sees no vision of a powerful effort to saddle the Treasury with the rebel debt, as a consequence of rebel power through his agency attained. But we know that such a possibility lies in the near future, if the policy now marked out is not reversed. He acts upon the supposition that the war its ended. We believe that the war of ideas has just begun, and that the Republic was never in more imminent danger from rebel machinations than it is to-day.*

MERELY "LEGAL."

From the Commonwealth.

IN the discussion, in the recent National Council of Trinitarian Congregationalists, upon the vital question of Loyal Suffrage, there was at first hesitation and delay. This was due, chiefly, to the Rev. Leonard Bacon, Doctor of Divinity, who promptly discovered that this is a mere "*legal* question," with which religion has nothing to do, though he is also reported as saying that the salvation of the country depends upon it! So with the salvation of the country religion has nothing to do? Religion sits serenely above, does it, and upon a question of life or death to America looks down with moveless indifference? *Whose* religion, what religion, it that, pray? Is it Dr. Bacon's? It is certainly not that of a patriot.

The Doctor's phraseology is blundering. A legal question is a question, not of what should become law, but of what *is* such.

But his fetch is worse in its purpose and import than in its phrase. Is it more or less than a variation played upon the old heartless antithesis between politics and religion? He means, doubtless, to say that the question of Negro Suffrage is one in which no principle of right and duty is involved. This, too, in face of his own declaration that the salvation of the country *is* involved!

But more is involved. We call upon all decent men, doctors of divinity or not such, to observe that this nation will deliver the Negro, bound hand and foot, into the hands of his exasperated and vengeful enemies, unless it concede to him the ballot upon the same terms with every other. And what a treachery were this! We have invited him to take up arms in the nation's cause; we have made him a compatriot; and thereby have exposed him to measureless ill-will. Every drop of blood he has shed for the Union has raised bad blood against him at the South. In our act, therefore, was contained a pledge which every man of honor will hold sacred, to afford him, on his return to civil life, the means of self-protection. And now to desert him, to leave him helpless, subject at least to every kind of *legal* retaliation, would be a deed of baseness for which the English language has no adequate name.

To deny him the franchise would be to desert him thus. Late events in Richmond, and the action of the lower house (*lower* and lowest, sure enough), in Tennessee, show what will be his fate if he is to be made politically powerless. At present, indeed, the chief magistrate of the nation can do something to shield him. And yet President Johnson practically confessed to the Negro deputation from Richmond that even now his power in this respect is limited. But when the rebel States shall have returned to the Union, even this power will cease; and the Negro must then have means to protect himself, or lie naked and helpless before the hate which his fidelity to the Union has aroused, to be slowly or quickly stung to death by rebel vengeance under the forms of law.

Are we to call upon him in *our* need, and then desert him in *his*? Can it be that such is Yankee honor and good faith? If that be honor, what is infamy? If that be good faith, Judas was a model of virtue. To have marched the negroes unarmed against the rebel cannon would have been charity in comparison with this. And had we intended thus to abandon them at last, the least we could in honor do were to perish sooner than ask their aid.

Dr. Bacon had a coadjutor. Rev. Dr. Sturtevant was in favor, he serenely said, of giving the negroes all the rights of other men, save the franchise. Sagacious Dr. Sturtevant! Surround the negro with vengeful hate, and then generously concede to him all the rights of other men, including conquered rebels—except the right of self-protection! What good sense! What magnanimity! What faithfulness to our fellows-in-arms!

The Negro at the South goes into a state of intenser war when the nation finds peace. It will truly be a *civil* war—to be waged with civil weapons, that is, with suffrages. We propose, do we, to cast him into the den of rebels unarmed? If so, we make him the most pitiable victim, and America the most dishonored nation, on earth.

"A legal question," forsooth! If ever there was a question of honor, of right, of duty, of all that decent men should most deeply consider, it is this of Negro Suffrage.

We have pointed our moral, and have only to add the Doctors of Divinity failed—for the council eventually discarded their advice, and endorsed handsomely loyal suffrage. So may henceforth *all* custodians of Christian morals!

COLORED MEN IN RICHMOND.—A gentleman just from Richmond states that several days since a Provost Marshal near there ordered seven colored men, who had committed some trifling offense, to be suspended by their thumbs, with their arms extended above their heads, until his return from a frolic. He was absent from his post nearly one whole day, and on his return found four of the men dead. He also says efforts were being made to hush the matter up. Improbable as the story is, it will be investigated by Gen. Howard.

Gov. Bradford has appointed men in Maryland to register the voters, as provided by the new Constitution, who will not put on their lists any returned rebels or secession sympathizers. The loyal people of Maryland declare that a negro in the United States service is better than a white man who opposes the government.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 8, 1865.

THE REBEL PLOT.

LETTER FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS.

To the Editor of the Standard.

LET me call your attention and that of the country to the danger pointed out in the following extract from the letter of an acute and vigilant friend:

"President Johnson is rapidly issuing proclamations for the reorganization of all the Rebel States. The Governors appointed are old politicians who know all the ropes. Is it not their design, and will they not be able, before next December to make all their new Constitutions and elect new Governors and full Congressional delegations? Then what is to prevent those States from presenting themselves, fully accredited, on the floor of the *new* Congress, and participating in its organization. They will claim, as President Johnson does, that their States have never been out of the Union; that the government declares (as it will) the rebellion suppressed and military occupation withdrawn, and that they now resume their relations with the Federal Government, which have been only temporarily suspended. In this claim they will be backed by the whole power of the Administration, and this is the trap to be sprung on us. The Clerk of the House, you remember, presides until a new Speaker is elected. If he had firmness enough to refuse to receive the credentials of these rebel members, and to refuse to count their votes, this danger might be averted. But can we count on so much virtue in any politician? We may, perhaps, baffle this plan in the Senate. That body being always organized, no members can be admitted without the concurrence of the rest. But how long would even the Senate stand up against the action of the House of Representatives and enormous pressure of every other kind?

"I believe that this attempt will be made at the next meeting of Congress. Possibly South Carolina might be kept out, but even that is doubtful. I may exaggerate the importance of this matter, but that the attempt will be made there can be no doubt."

The importance of these suggestions cannot be over-estimated, and every means should be taken to avert this peril. We have been counting on the possibility of rallying a majority of the legally elected members of Congress to keep the members from Rebel States out of Congress, at least till they consented to certain conditions—ratifying the Anti-Slavery Amendment and other matters. Some sanguine friends believe they can be kept out until they agree to give the negro the right to vote. But, according to this rebel plot, the Southern members may enter Congress without agreeing to the Anti-Slavery Amendment or to any other conditions. Once inside the doors, they may take part in all the discussions and votes affecting themselves and their claims, and may checkmate the Anti-Slavery Amendment itself. In fact, our fate rests in the hands of the CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. I know nothing about him; but how few men in the nation could be trusted to stand firm in such a post! The whole North should be roused to guard against this danger. If the Rebel States in their present mood, can, in any way, get inside Congress, and wield EIGHTY-FOUR VOTES there, and more especially if they can get there unpledged to any conditions and wield those votes, then truly the "South" will be as strong as ever, and the Negro almost as defenceless.

Yours, WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE CHURCH—POLICY OR PRINCIPLE?

That States should found institutions on the sands of expediency and sordid policy need excite no surprise, may be explained perhaps, to many, by the Nursery Song,

"Let dogs delight to bark and bite,
For God hath made them so."

But there is another body existent, calling itself THE CHURCH. It asserts the highest claims to reverence, where all other conditions demand only respect. It calls itself the redeemed, the regenerated, the sanctified of God, the light of the world, the salt of the earth. The grand Life-Preserver, indeed, buoying the moral and material universe up from sinking in devouring fire.

And what is to be said when that consecrated host voluntarily descends not only to consent to, but absolutely to co-operate with, the State in building governmental fabrics on foundations that the whole experience of forty centuries has shown cannot be trusted?

The motto of the politician is, "our country, right or wrong," "our Union, however bounded." The greatest modern American scoffed at the "higher law;" and in the presence of a vast concourse of Virginia slaveholders, made merriment and mockery of the words. That might have been expected, even of Daniel Webster. But especially might it have been expected, when the most eminent of the ordained ministry of the church, even Professors and Doctors of Divinity in Theological Seminaries hold and teach doctrines no better. Doctrines just the same. Teach them to those who are soon to go forth as regenerators and guides of the world, "dead in trespasses and sin."

When Professor Stewart of Andover Theological Seminary wrote his "Conscience and the Constitution," he stretched the pontifical robe of sacramental sanction over all the horrors of the slave system, which his friend and profound admirer, Mr. Webster, had already clad in the tempered mail of constitutional guaranty and protection. And so, together, they wrapped it up.

And Dr. Adams, second to few, if any, in influence, in the orthodox ministry, writes a most learned and labored defence of the great Abomination, publishes it in a book, and sends it over the continent. His bald declaration is, "to talk about a 'Higher Law' while the Constitution is in force, is Fanaticism."

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions long held that, "it is the duty of the Board to prosecute the work of saving souls, without attempting to interfere with the civil condition of society, any farther than the consciences of the people become enlightened."

In defence of the Report embodying that sentiment, one Doctor of Divinity (Bacon) said, "The Board should make a distinction between Slavery and slave-holding; a distinction which I deem extremely obvious. The master does not make the man a slave; but THE LAWS and the constitution of society."

And another Doctor, still more eminent (a Beecher), said, on the same point, "Masters and slaves existed in the primitive churches, and it was allowed by Christ and his apostles. Slavery is an ORGANIC sin, MADE BY LAW; and therefore not dealt with as other sins."

And at prodigious cost of money, men, and women too, the Board labored for fifty years, to extend such a gospel, as anevangelizing and millennializing influence, over the habitable globe.

But why recur to these long past transactions now? Listen why. Fearfully fulfilling the prophecy of Jefferson, God has "by His exterminating thunders," dashed our obscene idol, altar and all, to the dust. And this same church and ministry are determined to bear an important part in restoring the governmental ruins.

The work of rebuilding is already begun by the authorities at the national Capital. That the Rebels destroyed slavery, is universally conceded. And that they would have destroyed the government, but for the timely aid of the liberated slaves, is no less certain.

That the white population were mostly traitors and rebels, foul and bloody, none deny. That the black millions were loyal, lovers even of the country that enslaved them, and ready to die for it, every body believes, who knows them.

That the white rebels intended not only to utterly subvert the government, to make havoc of Liberty over the whole land, to bind eternal chains on the whole black race, but also to hurl labor and laborers, irrespective of color, down to the same level, they themselves have too often announced, to require more demonstration. That the black population have built up the wealth of the South, by unpitied, as well as unpaid toil and tears, while the "governing classes" have largely revelled in idle beastliness, on the fruits of that unrequited labor, is also clear as noonday sun. And that this maddened mastery spits its spite newly envenomed, at the liberated slaves, and shows a devlish determination to chastise them under the new system with scorpions if possible, where only whips were used before, to make a serfdom whose little finger shall be thicker than the loins of slavery were, no effort is made to conceal, and no argument could make more plain.

And yet while all these frightful facts are unquestionable, the rebel states are almost all, at least restored to favor at Washington, and are hastening to be readmitted in their original sovreignty to the Union; controlling labor, suffrage, education, religion, and all internal questions exactly as before the rebellion; and even while the amendment of the constitution can and may be defeated thereby.

And not one colored citizen has yet been created out of all the three hundred thousand soldiers, or their race, whose loyalty and valor saved to us a country and a nationality. While executive clemency and pardon have been showered on myriad whites, black with the guilt of treason and rebellion, and red all over with the blood of half a million of mighty men.

And now to return to the voice and co-operation of the church and pulpit, in this work of restoration.

Six hundred Congregationalists, mostly ministers, have just held a long parliament in Boston. And they made haste to pay their respects to the President, and to signify their unqualified loyalty to him and his modes and measures of restoring the government; well knowing as does every body else, that he shows constant preference to the pale Barrabasses; and is re-crucifying every black Saviour on whom our deliverance as a people depended.

A Boston paper reports that "upon the vital question of loyal suffrage there was at first, hesitation and delay. This was due chiefly to Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D., who promptly discovered that this is a mere "Legal Question" with which Religion has nothing to do."

This is that Doctor whom we just saw showing to the Foreign Missionary Board how to make a distinction between, not horse-stealing and stealing horses, but "between slavery and slaveholding;" "a distinction" he said, "which I deem extremely obvious!" And twenty more years have not taught him better. For he still postpones Justice, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity to the Law and the Government, as trifles "with which he and Religion have nothing to do!"

A private note from the office of the *Christian Advocate and Journal* complains that in a reference to that paper and the Methodist Church, in the STANDARD of the week before the sentiments of a correspondent were made to represent the Journal itself. The error was unintentional, and we trust satisfactorily corrected. But who or what is represented in this passage from a leading editorial in the paper?

"We hold that according to eternal righteousness, and to the genius of our institutions and the laws of the country, and still more, the dictates of a wholesome expediency, the colored people of the South, the only class of genuine loyalists of that region, ought to have been allowed a part in the work of reorganization. The President has decided otherwise, and though we very deeply regret his decision, and believe that he has let slip a greater opportunity to gain a glorious immortality than was ever held by any of his predecessors, yet we submit without bitterness, determined, whether or not our peculiar views are to prevail, to sustain the government of the country, as a Christian man, an American citizen, and a loyal journalist. This, we believe, will be the sentiment of the great body of our readers, who, though disappointed, and perhaps chagrined by the President's policy, will nevertheless loyally and cheerfully support his administration."

And this will probably be "the sentiment of the great body of the readers" of all the religious papers of the land, as well as of the Methodist denomination.

But is it solid, religious principle, or sordid policy which thus puts the church below and behind the state, on the most vital interests affecting mankind, not only here and now, but as long as God and human souls shall exist?

The Congregational Parliament of six hundred sitting in Boston, made substantially the same confession of political faith, though seconding and approving graciously the demand for colored suffrage then and now ringing through all our hills and valleys.

Rev. Mr. French writes to the *Christian Advocate and Journal* from the South, on the subject of restoring the Southern Methodists to the fellowship of the Northern Conference,

"I would advise that every member of the church that the government will take back in governmental fellowship, our church should receive back, bishops and all." And *The Methodist*, a very large and well conducted journal in mechanical and literary ability, says, 'it will be remembered that Mr. French is an Abolitionist of the most pronounced type.' Other Methodist papers award him like credit.

From all which it appears, that between the State and the Church, there is to be the same harmonious coöperation in the coming dispensation, as in the past, when slavery reigned supreme; exalting itself above all that was called God in the one, or justice in the other.

When conscience contended with the Constitution, and demanded new interpretations, favoring freedom instead of slavery, the Church hastened to the rescue with the Bible, and declared from nearly every Theological Institution, and from almost every popular pulpit of the nation, that slavery was ordained in Heaven; was practiced by patriarchs; was approved by prophets; was at least silently sanctioned by Jesus of Nazarath; and was ineffably hallowed by the Great Apostle to the Gentiles, Fugitive Slave law and all, in sending one newly converted Church member, fresh from his baptism, back to the whipping post of another Church member, as a runaway slave.

And is there no more high, holy, divine principle than this, to be evolved out of the most awful as well as righteous judgment ever before visited on a church and nation in the history of the human race.

The *Advocate and Journal* admits that "according to eternal righteousness," and "even the dictates of a wholesome expediency, the colored people of the South, the only class of genuine loyalists of that region, ought to have been allowed a part in the work of reorganization." But he adds, "the President has decided otherwise. Why should he not "*decide otherwise*," with a church three millions strong in her various denominations, led by a clergy numbering nearly forty thousand ready to sustain him, as it is so fast avowing itself ready to do.

The President has decided against "eternal righteousness." He has decided for eternal, at least for temporal unrighteousness. He has determined to continue in perpetrating the most flagrant injustice and crime and cruelty, and the *Journal* submits, and coöperates as it did in regard to Slavery, for so many many years, "as a Christian man, an American citizen, and a loyal journalist!"

How many martyrdoms might have been avoided in all the forty centuries past, by a faith and philosophy so flexible and accommodating as this.

Babylon required all her females once at least in their lives, to go and worship in the temple of the goddess Mylitta; laying their virtue on her obscene altar.

Would our Congregational parliaments, six hundred strong, would our great denominational representatives, our Boards of Missions, Doctors of Divinity, Presidents and Professors of Theological Seminaries, Ministers, Elders, "Bishops and all," would they in proof of loyalty, and of good citizenship, have hastened with their wives and virgin daughters, to offer the loathsome oblations demanded?

WHICH are the most intelligent? asks the *Commonwealth*. The conditions that shall attend voting in the Southern States may be determined in some minds by this incident: The Commissioner of Street Labor in Charleston has gangs both of white and black men. Of one hundred and fifty-one white men, three only could read or write; of one hundred and seventy-six black men, forty-six could read or write. If either race is to be excluded, why not that which furnishes the fewest readers and writers?

THE Boston *Transcript* says that Senator Sumner has received from colored citizens of Georgia a petition in the following words, with the request that he would present it to President Johnson:

To His Excellency, ANDREW JOHNSON, President of the United States:

SIR: We, the undersigned, Colored Citizens of the State of Georgia, respectfully represent, that we are loyal, always have been loyal, and always will remain loyal; and, in order to make our loyalty most effective in the service of the Government, we humbly petition to be allowed to exercise the right of suffrage.

There are upwards of three hundred signatures. Gen. Saxton, who forwards the petition, writes that "every signature is genuine;" that he personally knows some of the petitioners to be "men of rare sagacity and intelligence;" that petitions by many thousands of freedmen in South Carolina and Georgia will be forwarded before the meeting of Congress, and he adds: "Justice and the public safety alike call upon us to give the right of suffrage to the colored man." He says, further, "There is no fear but that they will cast loyal ballots, ever on the side of freedom."

Can the same be said of the whites in deference to whose prejudice and hate the President disfranchises the blacks?

THE agent of the Associated Press is kind enough to telegraph that "the negroes at Vicksburg are protesting against the appointment of Judge Sharkey, as Governor, and *clamoring* for the right to vote."

Well, Washington is a long way from Vicksburg, and some ears at the Capital are deaf, and if the negroes are inconsiderate enough to "clamor" for their rights, and even insist on making themselves heard by those who don't want to hear, whose fault is it? Or, if it be Provisional-Governor Judge Sharkey whom they are "clamoring" at, they will not need to make less noise. His ears are stuffed with his own memorable decision which declared Emancipation in Mississippi immoral and against public policy. Will he be likely to think negro suffrage more moral or more politic?

BLACK SOLDIERS.—We have no means of testing the truth of the rumor referred to in the following extract from a Richmond letter. The belief in it there is another help to explain the recent trouble in the black regiments. We direct attention to it, hoping to call out farther evidence:

"It is confidently asserted here that the Government intends to colonize a large number of the blacks in Texas, and that Gen. Weitzel's corps has been sent there in order to be *mustered out of service there*, and thus induce their wives and children to go there also. This has already caused trouble among the colored troops. Do you suppose there is any such plan?"

GEN. HOWARD has received a letter from Gen. Fiske, Commissioner of Freedmen for the States of Arkansas and Missouri, stating that the affairs of the freedmen, particularly in the latter State, are at present in a very prosperous condition. Laborers are in great demand, and fair wages are offered, and there are only 236 colored people in Missouri dependent upon the Government for support, while there are 4,452 whites who draw their daily sustenance from Uncle Sam.

What a chance for Gen. Howard to lecture these 236 colored people on the advantages of industry!

A LETTER from Richmond to the New York *Herald* says "In some respects I find the Southern negroes very much misrepresented. It has been said time and again that they are incapable of self-support. Their actual occupation and performances show that in many cases they support both selves and masters, and do it better than their masters could do it." The same writer informs us that "the ignorance of the white people is amazing. Out of the thousands who are daily taking the oath, only about five per cent. can read and write."

THE following military order, says the Boston *Journal*, reads very much as if the emancipation proclamation had never been issued, and Judge Taney's infamous rescript "that the black man has no rights which the white man is bound to respect," was in full force at Atlanta:

HEADQUARTERS POST, ATLANTA, GA.
June 6, 1865.

SPECIAL ORDER, No. —.

All persons in and about Atlanta, Georgia, having in their possession or employ, negroes or negresses, are hereby ordered to have their names registered by the Provost Marshal of this post, and passes obtained for them, on or before the 15th of June.

All negroes who shall be found in this city without a pass from the Provost Marshal, after said date, will be arrested and disposed as may hereafter be determined.

B. H. EGGLESTON,
Col. Commanding Post.
J. W. LAUGHLIN, Capt. and Post Adjt.

THE order of Gen. Terry, says an Exchange, providing for the decent treatment of negroes in Virginia, is very distasteful to slave-breeding gentry, whose occupation is gone. The Richmond *Republic* significantly remarks:

"This important order must be accepted as one of the "logical results" of the war, however contrary to the usages of our society. It is a military measure, directed to military men, and, in terms, is temporary in its application. The civil courts will now be very soon established, and a very interesting question will then arise, upon what principles they will administer the laws relating to the colored population in the period that shall intervene before the General Assembly shall adopt permanent legislation in the premises."

THE article on our first page, from the N. Y. *Daily News*, the accredited organ of the Rebel leaders, will not fail to attract attention. It has been followed in the same paper by others like it, and is undoubtedly he declaration of a policy that has a very distinct and well-matured purpose. Readers shall make their own comments on it this week; next week we will make ours.

—CLARENCE COOK'S paper on "The Prospects of Art," on our fourth page, deserves a perusal from others than those interested specially in art.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY briefly and well said, in a recent speech at Leavenworth, Kansas: "The power that can take the right to vote from a white man, as a penalty for the crime of secession, and rebellion against the government, can surely give the right to vote to a black man, as a reward for services rendered to save the government."

THE General Assembly of Virginia has repealed the disfranchising clause against rebels in the Alexandria Constitution, under which it derives its authority to meet.

But Gov. Pierpoint told this body in his message that they "had nothing to do with *negro* suffrage." Where then does this "Alexandria Common Council" get its authority to enfranchise Rebels?

THE Louisville *Journal*, while opposed to negro suffrage at present, said recently:

"The question is not whether the negro can ever be entrusted with the ballot under any given set of circumstances. That has been done even in the South, and without any harm; and it may and very probably will be done again."

NEWSPAPERS IN PHILADELPHIA.

To the Editor of the Standard:

IT is a cause of much annoyance to Radical Republicans in Philadelphia, that there is now no daily paper which reflects their views, or that they can read with satisfaction. Until lately the case was different; but since Andrew Johnson has commenced his mad experiments in reconstruction, and thrown himself upon the conservative wing of the party, the papers which were formerly progressive have either followed his lead, or been reduced to a non-committal silence.

So that all that portion of the Republican party which prefers justice to expediency, which detests the States right dogma as an invention of the devil, and which believes in trying to make some poor atonement to the negro for the oppression of centuries—all such are left without a paper that they can read with satisfaction.

Will no one give us a daily paper that will be independent? The party does not follow its would-be leaders, as they may soon find out—nor the journals which are false to their colors. RADICAL REPUBLICAN.

Philadelphia, June 26, '65.

The National Temperance Convention at Saratoga, August 1st, bids fair to be a large and influential body. Several gentlemen distinguished in military and civil life are expected to be present. Various churches, ecclesiastical bodies, and temperance organizations are appointing delegates. By the terms of the call, all persons interested in this important object, whether delegated or not, are invited to attend as members.

PERSONAL.

Gen. Butler has presented $5,000 to Phillips Academy, Andover, to provide a free scholarship, fifty years, for the son of a soldier, be he black or white.

It is understood that Henry Winter Davis delivered the oration at Chicago on the 4th of July, and took strong negro-suffrage ground.

The London *Press* reasserts—its previous statement having been contradicted—that "the Premier has determined upon retiring after the elections, and that Earl Russell and Mr. Gladstone have come to some agreement respecting the basis of a new ministerial combination."

Mr. Yeatman, President of the Western Branch of the Sanitary Commission at St. Louis, informs Gen. Howard that he has received $7,000, voluntary contributions, from the colored troops in the vicinity of St. Louis, to aid in the erection in Washington of a monument to the memory of the late President Lincoln.

Miss Helen Morton, who, as our readers may remember, was selected from the graduates of a medical school and hospital, in Paris, a year ago, to act as first assistant to Madame Alliot, the directress, has been requested by the direction to remain another year in the same capacity;—another evidence of her skill in the profession she has chosen.

The Evansville *Journal* is informed that some days ago Hon. Lazarus W. Powell, U. S. Senator from Kentucky, accosted a returned rebel soldier in Henderson, asking him what induced him to go off in the rebel army. "*You* did, G—d d—n you," was the prompt and scathing reply. "Your harangue in the court house, over yonder, sent me and hundreds of others into the rebel army to fight against the old flag."

The Ohio *Statesman* says it is *not* the understanding at Columbus that Gen. Sherman is to be the Democratic candidate for Governor of Ohio. We should think not. It is the understanding, however, that Gen. Sherman is heartily in favor of the election of his fellow-soldier Maj.-Gen. J. D. COX, whom he greatly esteems as an officer and a gentleman.

English papers say that Charles Dickens had a very narrow escape from death at the catastrophe on the Southeastern Railway, recently. The carriage in which he was sitting toppled over the edge of the embankment, and hung there for a while, giving him an opportunity to scramble through the window to the platform, where he found himself without scratch or bruise, greatly to his own amazement. When the dead bodies of the victims were laid out for recognition, one over-zealous gentleman, knowing that Mr. Dickens was in the train, recognized one corpse as his, and this statement was at first credited. The novelist was returning to his country seat from a short continental trip, when the accident occurred.

Says the *Commonwealth*: James Redpath, whose labors in Charleston, in re-organizing the schools and looking after the interests of the freedmen

and without announcement of any kind a bright and charming woman entered the room, threw her arms round Mdlle. Rosa's neck, and clasped a ribbon round it, from which depended a little cross well known in France. The charming visitor was the Empress Eugénie. Mdlle. Bonheur had never heard a word of this visit or of this decoration being intended for her; and she sat down on a low stool and enjoyed a good cry, while the Empress chatted with her about her palettes, her pencils, and the delightful trifles of her art. Certes, the Empress Eugénie knows how to enhance a graceful act by the added grace of doing it well.

According, to the Chicago *Tribune*, Gen. Grant, in conversation with his friends, says that it is too soon to declare that the loyal blacks in the South shall not be allowed to vote. Aside from the abstract right and the legal problem of what authority can confer or withhold the franchise—whether it be Congress or the States—the question may assume the shape of a political necessity.

The goverament and people may have to choose between keeping a standing army of 100,000 men at an expense of $100,000,000 a year to the tax-payers, to support the white minority in the South against the white rebel majority, or of enfranchising the blacks, and thereby enabling them to support the white loyalists. Gen. Grant foresees that the suffrage question may take this form.

LITERARY.

It is curious that English writers cannot be taught the proper use of "different." The London *Reader* says lately: "In Germany he is regarded in a different light *than* in England." And perhaps it is the most common usage of otherwise accurate writers to say that one thing is "different *to* another." The solecism is unknown, or at any rate uncommon, on this side the water."

The Saturday *Review*, ablest of the London weeklies, concludes a long and rather favorable notice of Thoreau's Cape Cod with the following stupendous cockneyism:

"For other peculiarities of this remarkable region, and of those who inhabit it, we must refer to Thoreau's work. It is a singularly vivid description of a district which would be curious anywhere, *and which, in a country so monotonous as the greater part of the United States, must be quite refreshing to the wearied tourists!*

Talleyrand's memoirs, which he ordered to be published thirty years after his death, will probably appear this year in Paris.

M. Reville, a well-known contributor to the "Revue des Deux Mondes," and a popular Rationalist preacher at Rottardam, is about to publish a biography of Theodore Parker.

In Paris it is now considered more than probable that the second volume of the Emperor's "Life of Cæsar" will not appear before the autumn. Not a sheet of it, we believe, has yet been received in England by either translator or printer.

A Paris correspondent of the *Journal de Geneve* says: "I send you a very curious fact. M. Plon, the publisher of the *Life of Cæsar*, printed 140,000 copies of the first edition. He is said to have not yet got rid of more than 22,000, and he complains bitterly. They are waiting for the Emperor, in order to issue at five francs the edition which still costs ten francs."

A leading publishing house in Chicago has sold 1,500 sets of "The New American Cyclopædia," making nearly 25,000 volumes since the commencement of the war, and at war prices. The same house has sold 200 sets of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," at $150 each, 10,000 copies of Tennyson's "Enoch Arden," and an incalculable amount of school books. One of its orders to a New York firm comprises nearly 200,000 copies of various educational publications.

Mr. J. R. Bartlett, author of the "Dictionary of Americanisms," has in the press a quarto volume which, under the title of "The Literature of the Rebellion," will contain a catalogue of all the known books and pamphlets printed in Europe and the United States which relate to the Rebellion. We believe the number of such publications will be little, if at all, short of 5,000.

The London *Athenæum* says of Belle Boyd's book that, "coming from the lips of a foolish woman, such nonsense should be met with laughter; but it is no matter for mere merriment when Englishmen are found weak enough to believe, and rash enough to publish, irritating and scandalous libels upon the rulers of a great and sensitive people."

And winds up its review with the comprehensive statement: "This is a very dull book."

A correspondent of a London journal asks for information in regard to the posthumous papers of the late Mr. Buckle, as follows: "Mr. Buckle, the lamented author of the 'History of Civilization,' died at Damascus on the 29th of May, 1862. On the 18th of June following there appeared in *The Times* a letter from Mr. Stuart Glennie (a friend and fellow-traveller of Mr. Buckle) which concluded as follows: 'Though Mr. Buckle's lamentable death leaves undone not only so much of what he intended, but of what he had prepared elaborate materials for, I am glad to say his posthumous works may be no less valuable than those which have already appeared. * * * Great parts of the special History of Civilization exist ready for publication, and his common-place books, with their immensely varied yet methodically arranged extracts, will form the most curious, interesting, and valuable collection of materials that has, probably, ever yet been published as the work of a single English student, and their publication will be according to his own intention in case of the non-completion of his work.' Three years have now elapsed since the historian's death; but no announcement whatever has appeared as to the publication 'according to his own intention' of his posthumous works."

The great fair of Leipzig this year attains its hundredth anniversary, having been established in 1765. Before that year the fair was visited by numerous booksellers from all parts of Germany, but Frankfort was then the grand emporium of the book trade, especially for foreigners. The authorities of this last-named city having imposed certain regulations, the trade abandoned a place where it was no longer free. In 1764, the booksellers declared, through the medium of one of their colleagues, Herr Reich, that they would no more go to Frankfort, and in 1765 Leipzig was proclaimed the great centre of the trade. The first Bookseller's Association was founded by the same Herr Reich, and, after passing through various phases, it has become the famous society known as the Boersenverein. At first the booksellers used to bring their new publications to the fair and dispose of them by exchange or sale. But this mode of doing business was soon found unsatisfactory. At present the German booksellers send their books to their different correspondents as they appear, and meet at the Leipzig fair to balance the accounts of sale during the year.

The scraps of humor and wise sayings of the late President Lincoln have been published in Boston. The title of the book is "Thoughts that will live; being Memorable Sentences from the Addresses, Speeches, and other writings of Abraham Lincoln," edited by the Rev. E. E. Hale. Mr. Emerson has thus expressed himself concerning it: "He (Abraham Lincoln) is the author of a multitude of good sayings, so disguised as pleasantries that it is certain they had no reputation at first but as jests; and only later, by the very acceptance and adoption they find in the mouths of millions, turn out to be the wisdom of the hour. I am sure, if this man had ruled in a period of less facility of printing, he would have become mythological in a very few years, like Æsop or Pilpay, or one of the Seven Wise Masters, by his fables and proverbs. But the weight and penetration of many passages in his letters, messages, and speeches, hidden now by the very closeness of their application to the moment, are destined hereafter to a wide fame. What pregnant definitions; what unerring common sense; what foresight; and, on great occasions, what lofty, and more than national, what humane tone!"

It is tolerably well-known that the inside sheets of many provincial newspapers are written and printed in London, at a charge of so much per hundred—the same sheet appearing in different parts of the country under different titles, and figuring in Whig and Tory journals with like indifference. A late manœuvre was the issuing of a trade miscellany of tales and poetry, which took its name from the grocer or cheesemonger who purchased so many dozen; but the last novelty, it appears, is that started by a Sheffield printer, who offers stereotyped columns of tales for newspapers and other serials at 2s. per foot—according to the length of the column. As this would be much less than the cost of setting up the types, it may be concluded that a trade is to be done in this way. One of the tales so offered bears the name "Varley Shrubsole;" another is known as "John Gisborne's Will." From an intimation at the head of each story, we are given to understand that the copyright is fully protected, and it seems not unlikely that in the course of a few years the provincial press will possess a more motley character than at present—a page or two of the *Family Herald* or favorite *Journal* on one leaf, and the local intelligence and politics on the other.

Biblical students have been tickled, while reading the last volume of Mr. Carlyle's "History of Friedrich II.," by a curious and to them unaccountable blunder in the author's statement as to the whereabouts of the much-debated text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses. From the following passage, at page 149, it appears that Mr. Carlyle is under an altogether mistaken idea as to the book in which the text occurs: "This winter, say the books, 'he had in vacant intervals a great deal of communing with the famed of Leipzig University;' this or other famed professors—Winkler, Ernesti, Gottsched again and others—coming to give account each for himself, of what he professes to be teaching in the world, 'on the Natural Sciences, more especially the Moral; on Libraries, on Rare Books.' Gottsched was able to satisfy the king on one point—namely, That the celebrated passage of St. John's Gospel (!), '*There are three that bear record*,' was *not* in the famous MS. of the Vienna Library; Gottsched having himself examined that important codex, and found in the text nothing of said passage, but merely on the margin a legible intercalation of it in Melanchthon's hand. Luther, in his version, never had it at all. A Gottsched inclined to the Socinian view? Not the least consequence to Friederich or us!"

The London *Index*, organ of the Rebellion as long as there was a Rebellion, and now administering on its estate, has the following notification to the London trade: "In nothing are we so anxious for a direct trade between this country and the South as in the important intellectual staple—literature. No true Southern gentleman or lady will ever for amusement's sake read a Northern book or periodical—Northern-written or Northern-printed. Paper and printing can be produced as cheaply in England as in America; and if publishers would only keep this fact in view, and adapt editions a little more nearly to the American standard of prices, they would have little to apprehend, at least so far as the Southern country is concerned, from the absence of an international copyright treat, with the United States. The Southern book-trade alone was worth to the North before the war many millions of dollars. It need not now be as many thousands. And, above all other books, the most immediate and imperative want of the South is for school-books. Let this by all means be supplied at once and abundantly." This, says the London *Reader*, certainly looks like a determination on the part of the South, or its representatives in this country, to have no dealings with the North; but we very much question if a resident in Virginia or North Carolina would pay for a similar article ten or twenty per cent. more to a European dealer than to a New York or Boston trader, who, by being on the spot, and not subject to import duties, would in most cases be able to cope with all foreign dealers. Similar determinations have before now been made in religious communities, to hold no dealings except with the brethren and sisters of the same persuasion; but we have invariably found that the unsanctified corner-shop obtains the general custom, if its goods are the cheapest in the neighborhood.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, July 3d, 1865.

The "National Council of Congregational Churches" (so called), of which my last letter spoke, adjourned on Saturday, June 24th, after a session of ten days, yet too early, in the judgment of many members, for a thorough settlement of the business before them. It is noticeable that Dr. South-side Adams, whom the orthodox churches, before the rebellion, were fond of placing in positions of honor and distinction, did not appear there; also, that the Council, with great unanimity, sustained some skilful management of the Committee on Credentials by which a delegate's seat was refused to Rev. Charles Beecher of Georgetown in this State.

There were more than five hundred delegates, and they came from all the loyal States, with the addition of two members from Maryland, three from Missouri, and one from Tennessee. It was a strong and fine-looking body of men, and its proceedings showed much talent and skill on the part of its managers.

One of the matters somewhat difficult of settlement was the manufacture and acceptance of a "Declaration of Faith." It was commenced early in the proceedings, but was not finished until the ninth day. It was long and zealously debated, referred for patching and pruning to various Committees, moulded and re-moulded in the attempt to avoid difficulties, and hammered upon first in Boston, then in the Plymouth cemetery (an appropriate place), and then in Boston again.

It was moved to strike out the authentication, by the Council, of the system "which is commonly known among us as Calvinism." A vehement debate arose upon the motion to strike out this phrase, in the course of which Prof. Park of Andover said that whoever had read the Scriptures in their original tongues, and had passed through a course of theological education, and was not a Calvinist, was not a respectable man. The vote being taken, on the seventh day, a very large majority voted to retain the *word* "Calvinism" as well as the thing; but on the ninth day, after a final manipulation of the document, the word was quietly left out, and without objection. The substance of the "Declaration of Faith" was a reaffirmation of the ideas of the Westminster Assembly's Catechism, though the last Committee judged it expedient to omit that name. The adoption of the document at last was nearly or quite unanimous.

On the subject of "Ministerial Support" it was thought by the Council, naturally enough, that ministers should have large salaries.

The Committee on "Systematizing Benevolent Contributions" placed "first and foremost" in their list the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. By the way, the technical language of these delegates, like much of their preaching, is adapted to mislead an outsider. When they say "benevolent," they always mean—adapted to propagate their peculiar theology—just as when they say, "Congregational," they mean Trinitarian.

The corruption of language last named was prevented from passing *silently* by a letter from the "Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers," respectfully requesting the people calling themselves the "National Council of Congregational Churches" to use such language, in their proceedings as a *Trinitarian* Congregational Council, as shall recognise the fact that there are Unitarian and other Congregational Churches in this Commonwealth. A Committee of three, to whom this request was referred, reported against making the honest explanation requested, and their report was "unanimously adopted."

In the report on systematizing "Benevolent" contributions, a clause recommending alike both the New York and Boston Tract Societies produced a long and animated discussion. Many thought that discrimination should be made in favor of the Boston Society, but earnest appeal being made by many members (especially Rev. Dr. Kirk) that nothing should be uttered by the Council in disparagement of the New York Society, the report was recommitted, and ultimately adopted in such a form as to recommend, instead of both Societies, or either, "the *object* for which the American Tract Society was instituted."

The Business Committee wished for the appointment of two Committees, one "to draft a form of Sabbath service," and the other "to express the sense of the Council that the Bible would withstand the assaults of all its enemies;" both these matters, however, were laid on the table; "the latter amid great laughter."

The Business Committee also reported a resolution that a Committee be appointed to go to Washington and present to the President the resolutions on the state of the country, calling his especial attention to those portions relating to the punishment of traitors and universal suffrage. Considerable discussion ensued. Rev. Edward Beecher supported the resolution, urging that the question of universal suffrage was the great issue of the day, and that Congregational churches should put it on record that they are in the vanguard of truth and justice to all men, irrespective of caste or color. Hon. Linus Child, however, and Rev. Drs. Sturtevant of Illinois and Bacon of Connecticut made strong opposition, and, on motion of Rev. Dr. Thompson of New York, all of the resolution after the word "country" was stricken out. Here was another sacrifice of practical righteousness to the interests of denominational unity.

There was very decided agreement in the Council as to the expediency of spreading their theological dogmas in the West and South as rapidly as possible, and it was agreed to urge the churches to the point of raising $750,000 for that purpose.

Another matter, however, brought out a very decided difference of opinion. A good deal of sensitiveness had been felt in the Council at the cheers given, very early in the proceedings, to some members of the British delegation whose position at home had been neither just nor friendly towards the United States while the contest with the rebels seemed doubtful, especially Dr. Vaughan, editor of the British *Quarterly*. On this account there was intense interest in hearing the report of the Committee on "Response to the Foreign Delegates," which was read on the seventh day of the meeting, by Rev. Dr. Bacon of Connecticut, and which gave a decided, though not discourteous, rebuke to the Orthodox Congregationalists of England. Mr. Quint of this State, after moving the acceptance and adoption of this "Response," made a still stronger utterance on his own account, gave "a piece of his mind" to the English delegates generally, and read some damaging extracts from the British *Quarterly*, for the particular benefit of Dr. Vaughan; all of which were received with applause by the Council.

It was further voted to raise $100,000, mainly in New England, for the establishment of "a Congregational House in Boston."

The Committee on "Worship" recommended that in our devotions, public and private, "more space should be devoted to worship and praise."

One clergyman, Rev. George Allen of Worcester, presented a written protest against the adoption of the Declaration of Faith on account of its "narrow" and "sectarian" character. The protest was accepted, and ordered to be placed on the records.

It is a noteworthy fact that, in spite of the efforts of two Committees to present the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as "first and foremost" in merit, and in rightful claim for the support of the Council, the money voted to be raised in aid of foreign missionary work ($250,000) was assigned, not to them, but to the American Missionary Association, a body which has always been faithful in its testimony against slavery.

The subject of "a lay element in the ministry" was largely discussed, but the Council avoided giving their official sanction to the plan.

This meeting is considered to have been highly successful and encouraging for the purposes of Orthodox Congregationalists. One of its members thought that "the Boston Council" would live in history, and be quoted from as not less in consequence than the Councils heretofore most famous in ecclesiastical records.

July 4th.—To-day has opened in the most satisfactory manner possible, clear, bright, and as cool as one could expect for the season.

One of the many methods devised for celebrating the day here is the inauguration of the statue of Horace Mann, in front of the State House. At 8 a. m., the time appointed for this ceremony, a large number of people assembled to witness it. The unveiling of the statue was received with applause by the audience, which was renewed when a little girl, a pupil of one of those public schools the improvement of which was one of the chief labors of Mr. Mann's life, placed a wreath of evergreen upon the head of the statue. This work of art, which is of bronze, on a pedestal of freestone, is worthy of its subject, and highly creditable to the artist, Miss Stebbins. The dress is antique, the attitude noble, the material beautiful; in all these respects, as in the character of its subject, the statue stands in most advantageous contrast with that of Daniel Webster on the opposite side.

The exercises following were to be music by children of the public schools, and addresses by Gov. Andrew, Mr. Philbrick, superintendent of the Boston Public Schools, and President Hill, of Harvard University. Probably these matters went on according to the programme; but your correspondent left them to attend the Anti-Slavery Celebration at Harmony Grove in Framingham, hoping to be able to give you a few words respecting it.

7 p.m.—After going to Framingham and returning, however, but short space is left for description. Suffice it to say that we had a most successful and satisfactory meeting there. A large number of pic-nicians left Boston; many were taken up at the way stations, and many who had come from other quarters were found at the Grove; perhaps fifteen hundred in all. A band of colored people, who had come from Cambridgeport (I believe) for the purpose, gave us excellent music. The speaking was eloquent, intensely interesting, and adapted to be practically useful. The addresses of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Burleigh alone were enough to distinguish the meeting as admirable; but many others spoke well, and no time was wasted. We missed some accustomed faces, and saw some unaccustomed ones. But the meeting had a spirit and vigor equal to the best of those that preceded it, doing its part in the Anti-Slavery work of the current year, and helping to awaken those who attended it to the present necessities of our country. For details I must refer you to the official report, which you will probably receive in season for next week's Standard.

North.

PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

The 13th annual meeting of Progressive Friends, which closed its sessions on Saturday, the 10th inst., was one of the most numerously attended, and perhaps the most satisfactory of its baker's dozen.

The principal speakers were Wm. Loyd Garrison, and George Thompson, whom every one now meets with joy and gladness, as they come crowned with victorious laurels from the hard-fought battle-fields of the past. They were relieved by Rev. Ch. G. Ames, of Albany, New York, Thomas McClintock, of Philadelphia, Bennet Walters, of Iowa; Dr. Heald, of Delaware; Oliver Johnson, and many others. The question of suffrage for the colored population of the South was introduced by Mr. Garrison in the earliest stages of the meeting, and strenuously advocated.

Mrs. Frances D. Gage, from the committee on testimonies, introduced a few remarks in favor of the rights of women. Mr. C. G. Ames opposed the granting immediately the right of suffrage to the colored men, or to women, without due preparation for its duties; not on the ground of sex or complexion, but only of ignorance, urging that a voter should know how to read, or be sufficiently intelligent to read his own vote. Mr. Ames's remarks brought out a spirited discussion which occupied nearly all the sessions and part of the second day. But when put to vote, not one in the vast assemblage ventured a negative against universal suffrage without regard to sex, color or race. Dr. Heald, of Wilmington, Del., read a well-written address on the Dress Reform, after which Temperance took the floor, and was warmly talked up—or rather I should say—intemperance was warmly talked down. Each speaker, from his or her own stand point, seeing some cause of the wide-spread evil, which, if at once removed, would be greatly for the benefit of society. The testimony against intemperance also was unanimously accepted by the meeting. Testimonies on religion, peace, and our duties to the freedmen were received without any dissent, and the convention adjourned in harmony and peace, its members to go their way, each one we hope and trust, stronger in the faith of universal liberty—based upon love to God and love to man.

I should have mentioned that a large number of persons were appointed as committees to act for the collection of funds, to assist in the education of the freedmen, and otherwise to aid that unfortunate class—not to make of them paupers, but to relieve actual want and suffering among the aged and the orphaned, to send teachers to all parts of the South where opportunities may open for schools—that all who wish to learn may have the ways and means provided.

It might not, perhaps, be worth while to chronicle this immense meeting of Progressive Friends, were it not that in the twelve past years the readers of the Anti-Slavery Standard have been familiar with their words and deeds, and will look for a brief notice of their status this year, and be glad to know that, from the free platform of Longwood, strong words, and earnest thoughts are still spoken for the good, and against the evil. It is a great thing to bring together thousands of the people, especially the young, to hear these free discussions upon all the leading topics of the age. It was a sight for the denizens of crowded cities to see this mighty throng of farmers and tradesmen, in a country amid its green shades and ripening fields, coming together at the close of their corn-planting, gathered from hundreds of miles around, to reason together on war, right of suffrage for all, woman's rights, temperance, religion, peace, dress-reform etc., etc.; bringing their baskets of food, and partaking, with social enjoyment, of the good things wherewith the Heavenly Father hath blessed them; sharing with all and interchanging good offices and kindly feelings without money and without price. In all the land, there is nothing like those meetings of Progressive Friends.

Truth stands self-poised, and has nothing to fear from error—and hears calmly the wildest and most erratic argument, upon the most ultra subject—knowing well that the sledge-hammer of reason and common sense will demolish it much more speedily if it be absurd and a fallacy, than exclusiveness and ostracism. Hence, though a free platform, the venders of one idea soon learn, that if their one idea be not plainly and palpably worth bringing to market, it will find no purchasers at Longwood, and cease to annoy.

Here, without the binding influence of church or creed, the truly religious meet, the earnest prayer ascends to God, the heartfelt thanksgiving is breathed forth, the solemn hymn or the inspiring song gives echo to the hearts deepest aspirations; sermons are preached, essays read, and lectures spoken by the truest and ablest men and women of the nation.

Longwood meeting-house, the result of persecution, among the religious society called Hicksite Friends, of some of their members, is already too small to hold the half of the people that gather once a year to be refreshed in spirit at its altars. Its walls must expand to triple their present size to accomodate even the meeting of this year, and every year reports an increase, and will continue to do so, while the best talent of the nation—without regard to sectionalism or sect (so they be the friends of humanity)—are each year invoked to be present, and give zest and interest to the occasion.

F. D. Gage.

PROCEEDINGS OF WATERLOO YEARLY MEETING.

Waterloo, June 8th, 1865.

To the Editor of the Standard.

The seventeenth Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress convened at this place on Friday, June 2d., and continued three days.

C. D. B. Mills of Syracuse was appointed President, Geo. W. Taylor of Collins, Vice President, and William Barnes and Phebe B. Dean of Waterloo, Secretaries.

The meeting throughout was numerously attended and the interest was deep and unabated to the close. The leading theme was of course the condition of the country, the perils that still beset it, and the sole path of deliverance and safety. Aaron M. Powell, Frederick Douglass, Geo. W. Taylor, C. D. B. Mills, G. B. Stebbins, H. L. Green, and C. A. Hammond bore prominent part in the discussions. On Saturday a venerable friend, father of the Chairman, Mr. Abiram Mills of New Hartford, with us this year for the first time, addressed the meeting in a few very fit, earnest, and impressive remarks.

The sentiments of the meeting on the subjects that came under consideration are fitly embodied in the resolutions given below and also in the memorial to President Johnson which we give herewith. The action taken by the meeting both upon the resolutions and the memorial was unanimous.

On Sunday as usual each speaker gave his own thought, bringing forward and urging such topic in the interest of human progress as seemed to him most vital. The audience was very large and subject unavoidably to many discomforts, yet it remained attentive and patient to the last. Mr. Douglass gave a portion of his lecture on the life, character, and services of Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Stebbins spoke of inspiration, its growth and its law; Geo. W. Taylor of the true Communions of the spirit, Mr. Hough and Mr. Mills dwelt on the sovereign claims of Righteousness upon our nation at all hours, and especially in this hour of its danger and grand opportunity, and upon that high loyalty that keeps the divine commands, obeying the Constitution of the universe whose obligations attach to President and humblest citizen alike. Mr. Powell closed fitly and impressively by urging the present duties, describing the condition of the newly freed people as he recently saw them in Charleston, and pleading eloquently in their behalf and in behalf of the welfare of the nation, that they be accorded full rights of citizenship and privilege of protection against the ill-will and oppressions of their old masters. On the imperative necessity of securing suffrage to the freed people immediately in the work of reconstructing and readmitting the States, there seemed but one opinion in this meeting.

From this glad reunion refreshed and encouraged, we will gird ourselves anew to faithfulness in the never ending battle for the True and the Right.

Strong testimonies were adopted on the state of the nation, its duties and responsibilities: on the importance and growth of liberal religious ideas and principles; Temperance, the Enfranchisement of Women, and the following on the absorbing theme of the hour; colored suffrage and elevation—

3d. *Resolved*, That recognizing gratefully as we do what during the last four years the Divine Hand hath wrought among us, the partial and we trust growing recognition by our people after so long a period of terrible retribution that the fate of the nation is wrapped up in that of the despised black man, and that to be saved ourselves we must acknowledge his right to liberty, we have yet as friends of progress to call the country to a more thorough and radical repentance, to the putting away of all worships of expediency, all attempts to rest in half-measures and make-shifts, in concessions to necessity, or shrewd stokes of terrible retribution, to the doing of right as in itself the supreme obligation, to the restoration of the oppressed millions of our land to full privileges as men, citizens, and brethren, as alone fit for us in this crisis and severe judgment upon us as a people, and the inauguration of entire universal justice through the land.

Resolved, That the emancipated slaves constitute by far the largest share of the loyal people of the revolted States, and that the future peace and safety of the country depend upon their enfranchisement and admission to all the rights of citizenship.

The following Memorial to the President was also adopted:

MEMORIAL.

The Waterloo Yearly Meeting of Friends of Human Progress, held at Waterloo, New York, June 2d. 3d. and 4th, 1865.

To Andrew Johnson, *President of the United States:*

With the nation at large we have shared the deep sorrow at the untimely death of our late Chief Magistrate. His name will be forever blessed as one who, in the hands of the Great Ruler of the Universe, was instrumental in proclaiming liberty to millions of an enslaved race. He was himself a martyr to the murderous spirit of oppression.

In slavery we recognize his assassin, also the origin and strength of rebellion of itself.

In our severe national afflictions we see a warning fulfilment of the prophetic words of the enlightened statesman Thomas Jefferson, who, in speaking of the continued existence of slavery in our country at the time of the revolution, said, "And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed the only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people, that these liberties are the gift of God? that they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep forever!"

We rejoice that at last, though attended with much suffering, chattel slavery is well nigh overthrown, and we cherish the hope that whatever of vitality still remains to it may be speedily overthrown. The spirit of slavery however still lives with those who have so long derived from it unjust power.

We therefore feel deeply concerned that in this transition period from slavery to freedom, in the reorganization of government in the former slave States, the interests of the emancipated slaves may be carefully and conscientiously guarded and protected by the present Chief Magistrate, to whose keeping they are for the time so committed. We would have them at once secured in all the rights and franchises which pertain to white citizens of the Republic. We believe justice and humanity require no less.

Thus in doing justice will the welfare of the nation at large be promoted, and the fundamental truths be vindicated "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men."

That your administration of public affairs may be blessed to yourself and the nation in the firm establishment of impartial liberty is our sincere and fervent desire.

Signed on behalf of the meeting,

Chas. D. Mills, President.

William Barnes, Phebe B. Dean } Secretaries.

Letter of Rev. Mr. Ames to the Convention.

Albany, May 17, 1865.

Dear Mrs. Dean: Again I am obliged to deny myself, take up my cross, and stay away from your Annual Meeting. Not the less hearty is my thanksgiving to you for repeating the generous invitation. Present or absent, I desire to be in full fellowship with all that widely-scattered brotherhood and sisterhood who seek to know the truth that they may obey it, and who believe in the ever-busy grace of God, which bringeth salvation by inspiring the hearts of men with Faith, Hope, and Charity. In a fraternal and reverent spirit would I unite with you in pronouncing the grand word, Progress! It is indeed a confession that we have not already attained, that we are not already perfect; but leaving nothing behind which seems good and useful in the old, we would ever press forward to seize the new prizes of truth and wisdom which the Father wants to bestow on his children as fast as their minds and hearts are open to receive.

I am moved to say this one thing:—That, first of all, we must make "Progress" a *personal* matter; that we should count every new discovery of truth, every added ray of light, as an increase of our individual responsibility. Let us not lose our soul in our "glittering generalities" about the "liberal tendencies of the times," "the drift of events," and "the march of mind"; for however real and heavenly may be the impulse which sweeps masses and generations of men up to a higher plane of life, it will still remain true that "every man shall bear his own burden." We need personal sanctification of heart and life, also, that we may be prepared to contribute more effectively to those public and social movements which are so justly dear to us. We can only give to others what we have first received; we can teach no high lesson till we have learned it by heart; we can only be true reformers so far as we are models; we can pluck no mote from our brothers eye while a beam is in our own. Only clean hands can bear the vessels of the Lord; only those who are climbing towards the summits can beckon others to follow.

The one great word which ought to sound all along the liberal ranks, like a general order from headquarters, is, *Consecration!* the humble, hearty surrender of mind and body, time and talent, wealth and influence, in loyalty to the highest, holiest uses.

You will not suppose I am exorting to any canting, snivelling, self-absorbed pietism, or to any mystical spiritual experience which shall make us devotees and unfit us for the battle-work of life. There is little danger that, if we hear and heed what the spirit saith inwardly, we shall go far astray outwardly. It will lead us into all *truth*, and therefore into all *duty*. It cannot show us the things of God, and hide from us the things of humanity, which are also things of God. Loving the Father, we shall love and serve His human family. We shall hold commerce with heaven, only that we may import its treasures to earth. Instead of sitting down to a selfish enjoyment of this sweet inward life, it will make us aggressive and fanatical, like apostles and prophets. When the Sense of Right, the Spirit of Truth, or the Law of Love, once gains possession of a single soul, it straightway begins the conquest of the world; it claims universal empire; it declares war; it breaks forth on the right hand and on the left; nor can it rest till it has driven from the earth all Wrong, Falsehood, and Hatred, and put all enemies under its feet.

Let us measure all "progress" by this rule: So far as Right, Truth, Love (and these three are one), gain supremacy in our individual lives and in the general life of mankind, so far have we got forward and no father. Freedom itself is not progress: but the right use of freedom is. We want to escape all bondage—all *improper* restraint—only that we may come into right conditions for growth and service; that we may not be hindered from putting willing necks under the yoke of reasonable obligation.

I believe, therefore, that in becoming emancipated from all that is unnatural, irrational, servile, false, formal, and needless, we ought at the same time to become more firmly bound by our convictions, more positive in our allegiance to God and duty, more established in our faith, more clear-sighted in our search for the right path, and more diligent and faithful in walking therein. Instead of outgrowing true religion, or growing away from it, we shall grow more fully into it; we shall find that the path of progress leads evermore toward the foot of the great white Throne.

Our Orthodox brethren feal sure that we are wandering off into a waste howling wilderness of irreverence, indifferentism, universal disbelief and lawlessness. This may indeed be true of such as renounce error without asking for truth, and also of those who seek to hide an evil life under the skirts of "liberalism"; but rust it will yet be seen that the "highest style" of men and women are nursed in the school of *conscientious free hought*. Our hops is that there will be more heaven on earth—more richness in life, more earnestness, deeper meaning—and a firmer grasp on the great spiritual verities, as well as higher, wider, healthier views.

Indeed the faults in the old churches—Protestant and Catholic—is, that they are not religious enough; that they are wanting in faith, hope and charity; that they grieve and quench the spirit of God, by repressing and smothering the spirit of man; that they are afraid to let us look beyond Christ to the Father whom Christ himself manifests; that they profane and deny the sanctity of to-day, for fear we shall not believe in yesterday; that they confuse us with the damaged phraseology of the creeds, raising a cloud of doubts, double-meanings, no-meanings and mysticisms, to darken our eyes and shut out the sun, which shines for us as well as for the men of older ages. Thus, religion, which should be as natural and easy as our breath, is made difficult, disagreeable and often impossible; so that men content themselves with shame, professions and solemn nothings. God save us alike from irreverence, and from reverence for the unworthy! May He save us too from cursing the world with new follies, and from spreading over the sky of human thought any silly cobwebs spun from our own brains, which other generations must needs brush away.

For myself, having had occasion to unlearn so painfully much which I had thought a part of the faith once delivered to the saints, I mean not to take a single step, even in the path of "progress," any faster or father than the light may lead me on. Yet do I join with you in a happy faith that "every one that asketh receiveth; that he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened." Let me join you also in every glorious hope, and every honest work, for our country and for our kind, in war and peace.

Yours for the Great Cause, Charles G. Ames.

AFFAIRS IN LOUISIANA.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune:

Sir: The extracts following are from a letter dated New-Orleans, June 15—written by an old resident of that city and one who maintained his faith through all those times that tried men's souls in 1861. D.

"New-Orleans begins to look a little like old times. A great many old citizens are coming back and taking the oath. They claim to be 'as good citizens as anybody.' At the next election 'Union' men will be nowhere. The policy of President Johnson as foreshadowed in his North Carolina proclamation gives the Rebels all the political power in the Southern States and virtually reestablishes Slavery, except that a man may not be bought and sold. They will pass such laws as will effectually prevent negroes from asserting any of the rights which, as citizens, according to Chief-Justice Chase, they are entitled to. If the States have never rebelled they cannot be punished; and so our Secesh friends, after having failed in their attempt to break up the Government, come gravely back and prepare to regulate it in the States through their votes. You need not be surprised to see a party anti-freedom in the South to which a large Northern element will be joined for a grand rally in the campaign of '68; nor need you be surprised if *they win*. The only thing to be done is to advocate truth and justice, and keep at it. They must prevail in the end.

"I agree with your views, but am not so hopeful in regard to the voice of the people of the North, now that there will probably be a Southern party to help secure the spoils of office. It does seem strange that, after four years of war, such as we have had, and after the confession that has been forced from us, that without the negro vote must have failed, there should be the least hesitation in giving him the rights of a citizen, which he has secured for us. We always were the meanest people on earth. We were never ashamed to boast of our liberty everywhere, while we held in slavery a part of our own race; and now it appears that we shall not be ashamed to deprive them of the very rights and privileges about which we boast as among our peculiar blessings, and which we could never have preserved except by their bayonets. May we not look for those same bayonets to assert for themselves the right which they have so gloriously asserted for us? I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just. My comfort is that the Lord reigneth. J."

Summary.

At the British Museum about 4,150 volumes are used in the reading room daily; the number of readers has been about 106,000, or 360 per diem.

It is stated that Kentucky and Tennessee farmers have applied to an agent at Cincinnati for five thousand Irish and German laborers from Europe. They are to be furnished in two months.

The Soldiers' Refreshment Saloon in Philadelphia has furnished during the last four years 316,991 meals, and its expenses have been $56,414. It has a balance remaining of $1,368. Its managers deserve the thanks of all loyal men.

"My sister in Charleston writes me," said a lady the the other day, "that we (Secesh) have now no country. What do you say to that?" "Only this," replied the gentleman addressed, "that, if they have now no country, I hope they won't insist on ruling ours."

The Court of Appeals has confirmed the constitutionality of the New Fire Department in New York, and enough companies have already formed to keep the city safe, and there is little doubt that all or nearly all the rest will follow. No trouble of any kind during the change is expected.

The Londoners are crazy over the finished little pictures of Messonnier. A British journalists says, "The price set upon them is about the most extraordinary thing of all—six hundred, eight hundred and even thirteen hundred guineas for 'wee bits o' things' no bigger then the top of your hat."

Information has been received at Washington of the decease of the Hon. J. D. Doty, Governor of Utah Territory. Gov. D. was one of the early Governors of Wisconsin, and immediately previous to his appointment as Governor of Utah was Superintendent of Indian Affairs for that territory.

Gen. Saxton, in a letter to Gen. Howard, says that not far from Summerville, S. C., the freedmen are terribly oppressed—worse than in a state of slavery; they have been set to work in chain-gangs, and often shot down without provocation. Bodies of murdered freedmen have been found in the woods, butchered by guerillas, who have banded together, under oath, to kill every able-bodied freedman found off his plantation.

Davis's Capture.—The New York *World*, always careful of the fame of the rebel repudiating Mississippian, gives three reasons why the "petticoat story" should be regarded as a fiction; 1st, improbable on its face, it is destitute of proof; 2d, *it has become stale as a joke*; 3d, *there would be nothing very discreditable to Davis in it if it were true.*

Another Sign.—No attention was paid by the *white* people of Raleigh, N. C., to the President's proclamation of fasting, humiliation and prayer on account of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. "*The Methodist African Church*," says a paper of that city, "*was the only one in the city that paid any attention to the proclamation.*" This fact speaks volumes, and cannot be answered by any amount of patriotic protestations by individuals.

The Atlantic Cable.—A note from Cyrus W. Field, dated at London, June 12, states:

"The Great Eastern will probably sail from the Norse on the 5th of July, and from Valentia about the 15th of July.

"All is going on satisfactorily and the greatest confidence is entertained that the cable will be successfully laid."

The whole number of applications for pardon, under the exceptional clauses of the President's Amnesty Proclamation, is about five hundred. Very few pardons have yet been granted. The Attorney-General will adopt the plan of consulting with the provisional governors of the States in which applicants for pardon reside, in a great majority of cases, and will to a considerable extent, be governed in his report to the President by the views of the provisional governor.

Gen. Lee.—Gen. R. E. Lee and family left the city last evening for Cartersville, Cumberland county, near which place they will occupy, for the summer, a cottage on a small farm. A large number of farms, in different parts of Virginia, have been offered as presents to Gen. Lee, but he has in every case declined to accept them. During this week, a citizen of Richmond proffered him one of the finest farms in Orange county, which another offered to stock.—*Richmond Republic.*

Applications for special pardon have been made to the President by the rebel Brig.-Gen. Echols, Brig.-Gen. St. John, Commissary General of the rebel government, and about twenty-five prominent Richmond merchants. The merchants claim to have taken no active part in the rebellion. They are large owners of property in the burnt district, and being excepted under the $20,000 clause of the amnesty proclamation, they are unable to sell, rebuild or engage in business of any sort.

A Terrific Storm.—The Village of Veroqua, Wisconsin, nearly destroyed.—Seventeen Persons Killed and One Hundred

Miscellaneous Department.

THE PROSPECTS OF ART IN AMERICA.

BY CLARENCE COOK.

To the Editor of the Independent:

AN article in your journal of the 15th inst., on the present Academy Exhibition, contained a paragraph which seemed to me, at the time, to show such a misapprehension of the true state of art in our country, and of the true cause of its low condition, that I wished some one, who had time as well as inclination, would set himself to correct the writer, or, at any rate, to argue the matter with him, if that could be permitted. But, as no one has thus far thought it worth his while to do so, may I ask you to let me say a word in support of a proposition which appears to me to contain principles of real importance to our culture?

I readily concede to the writer in question that the state of art in this country is low. The present Academy Exhibition contains pictures by nearly all our artists, and while I do not say that the result is discreditable, the public has decided that it shows very little ability. There are very few works in it that a cultivated lover of pictures would be willing to purchase, or would relish being obliged to accept as a gift. Mr. Eastman Johnson's two pictures, Mr. Charles Moore's landscape, Mr. Griswold's "Winter Morning," Mr. Pattison's "Shelbourne Meadows," Mr. McEntee's "Last of October," are the only pictures of undisputed excellence. Others have merit which may be allowed with a demur; and there are pictures by men who are able to paint far better than they have for this occasion: C. C. Coleman, Mr. Vedder, Mr. Farrer, Mr. Baldwin (if this be the Mr. Baldwin who had the fine picture of Venice last year); and again, both the Hills are away—so that, if these honorable names had been represented, we should have had enough that was good to save the Exhibition; as it is, it is in sore need of saving. Now, I do not call this result discreditable; it seems to me, only, not satisfactory. Considering our age as an independent nation, considering our manifold disadvantages, and the hard work we have had to do, I am disposed to be very well contented that we have as many names as I have written above which stand for good painters; not the best, not great, but good; good anywhere in the world; not sneerable at in London or Paris, but freely admitted by able artists everywhere to be men of ability and promise. Every one of the painters I have named is earnest, studious, high-minded, holding his art sacred, his gift not to be squandered, but faithfully used. No one of them is a copyist of anybody (unless it be, in one case, of himself), nor holds for protection to the skirts of any school or master; they have defects, deficiencies, it is true, as who has not, but what is good in them is their own—it is the outcome of their own individuality.

I was in London in 1862, and went often to the Exhibition of the Royal Academy. Exclusive of the architectural drawings and the statues, there were over eight hundred works exhibited; ours contains six hundred and sixteen. Out of these eight hundred pictures there were, perhaps, a dozen that I cared to look at: Millais' two large pictures, "The Ransom" and "Trust Me," for their execution, but not at all for any meaning in them; F. Leighton, though by no means up to the splendid mark he can reach when he puts forth his power; Hook, Sandys (whose lovely "King Pelles' daughter bearing the vessel of the San Grail" was actually hung, as were many others, so that it could have been kicked by the ordinary lifting of the foot in walking, and could only be seen by squatting on the heels); Arthur Hughes' "It is the little rift within the lute" and "Bedtime"—were there any but these that a man might remember? And, of these, only a few were such as were to be looked for from the able hands that made them.

The same report comes from France, and there is, of course, no State in Europe that excels France or equals her in the varied skill of her artists. Why, then, should we be reproached or think meanly of ourselves for having but few good painters? Nay, I think if we had but one, there should be an exhibition for him alone.

But not only does the writer unjustly, as I think, depreciate what we have done, and are doing, but he gives an explanation of our poverty that I will not admit—that ought not to pass unchallenged. He says we are not only behind the world in Art, but that we always shall be, and must be. I ought not, perhaps, to say "the world;" I think he only says France.

Why are we destined to remain in this lowly plight for ever? What is the matter? This writer argues thus. The Saxons, the Germans, are wanting in the feeling for Art. The English are Saxon, or largely so, the Norman element is not sufficiently diffused to counterbalance this defect. Art, according to him, is a forced growth in England, an exotic; it has to be watered, trained, sheltered; and, after all, it is a hot-house peach with the flavor of a cold potato. He then proceeds to show that the Americans are of English stock, are a mere division of the same race, with the same general traits, the same virtues, the same vices, and that, therefore, Art must be a forced product with *us*, will not grow *here* without cossetting and coddling, and, when grown, is as a potatoey as the peach over the way. To which argument we say successively, "Aye!" and "Aye!" and "Nay, by no means!"

Granted that much of what is said about English feeling for Art is true, it is not all true, and there has been much good and noble work done by Englishmen that will live as long as canvass and colors hold, in honorable places cared for with honorable, well-deserved reverence. Surely, the great gallery in the International Exhibition, filled with the best pictures painted by Englishmen, from Gainsborough and Reynolds down to our own day, was a splendid trophy! I do not know the nation that can show anything approaching to it. So far as this writer's strictures apply to the past, I think a study of that magnificent collection would have mollified his harsh judgment; for the present race, they are in truth in an era of subsidence, of transformation; and the nation that has produced Reynolds, Gainsborough, Hogarth, and—mightiest genius in his own field—Turner; to say nothing of Millais, Holman Hunt, William Hunt, Leighton, Blake, and that rare, strong, exquisite genius, Dante G. Rossetti—a nation that has produced these men must be trusted. In her own time she will produce yet other sons, Children of Light, as these are.

It is true, the modern Germans have no sense of color, and the modern English, all but the leading pre-Raphaelites—Millais, Leigton, Rossetti—are terribly wanting in it. I could not think that their Lees, Linnells, Creswicks, and Stanfields had had their eyes blind to Nature, annointed with clay; but the old painters of Saxon stock—Holbein, Van Eyck, Memmling, Matsys, and the other English, were not wanting, although these last never approached the Flemings and Holbeins. It is very easy to understand why this difference exists, and why, even with their superiority to the bulk of their modern descendants, the elder English were still inferior to the elder Flemish and German artists. It is not in order, to dilate on this. I will simply say that Holbein, the Van Eycks, Memmling, Matsys, built their styles out of themselves, copied no one, belonged to no school. They went direct to Nature. They drew their inspiration from her bountiful breasts. The early Englishmen, on the contrary, men of genius, as they were, still learned more from Art than from Nature. They reverenced the sixteenth century and the antique, and sought Nature at second-hand. Hence, though greatness is in them, they are not thoroughly great.

But now, America, though indisputably of English stock, has had in these later years her Norman invasion as well as the mother country, though "Paddy McGurie" and "Biddy O'Flanagan" are not as high-sounding names, exactly, as "De Lacy," "Percy," and "De Vere." And, if the English owe any of their excellence in art and literature to the infusion and mixture of the blue Celtic blood with their Saxon red—why, we, after a few years of misery, only less than that which England suffered by her Norman "help," shall show flowers enough on our gnarled and crabbed stock. The Norman-Celtic infusion has no doubt civilized, refined, and spiritualized England. The Irish-Celtic will also, when once fairly intermingled with us, add invaluable qualities. It will give us much that we must have before we can produce the best fruit. No race and he knows best how, in his own good time, to crush all these grapes of life in his royal cup to make a wine meet for the lips of the Lord of Life to drink.

But, so far, we are only shown to be the equals of England in her advantages. We brought from her the stock, already somewhat mingled, of Saxon and Norman. We have seen that, in our day, it has suffered a great infusion; but the future holds a more noble mixture still. Celtic, this, as the Irish is, but grander by nature, more heroic, more intellectual even, yet higher than this, more spiritual, more religious. I mean the negro race. A race, in the first place, of high qualities—faithful, earnest, deeply believing in God. Then, tried as by fire in the seven-times-heated furnace of slavery, suffering unimagined wrongs, with an unimagined patience, and, through the fiercest trial that ever human beings endured, without weakness, without cowardice, without faltering—holding fast to God's hand, and biding His time.

This race has in it the seeds of a sweet and rich and generous culture. It shall be mixed with ours, is being mixed indeed; and, in the future, we shall see a fruit of art, of literature, of social life, the product of this great ingrafting, such as has not yet been seen in the world. It is paltry in us to hold our eyes so close to the present, as if in the lap of God there were not years of purer gold, more jewel-rich, more crystal-clear, to delight the eyes, to cheer the hearts, to inspire the advancing souls of men. The race that shall people this splendid continent is not yet born, it is in the womb of time; the eyes of this generation, nor the next, shall not know it, but, they may prepare the way for it, and believe in its coming.

Meanwhile, we believe that a few of our artists, enough to make us almost careless of the rest, are workers in the right spirit, and that their work will be found to have that freshness and individuality that can only result from cleaving closely to Nature, and refusing to hearken to the teachings of convention, academic laws, foreign or home-brewed, or of any maxims that they do not learn and prove for themselves. Scourge pretension, snub-arrogance, rebuke childish play in men as much as may be needed; but, every genuine bit of work must be hunted out, and held up and declared genuine, be it by known or unknown hands, by man or woman. And then, believe in the future, believe in America! Why, that Abraham Lincoln came out of her bosom ought to make us believe in her, love her, trust her, thank God for the national strength and nobleness that such a nature pronounces and prophesies; and, as Art is only expression, shall not strength and nobleness be expressed? Nay, can they be, and be unexpressed?

New York, June 16, 1865.

THE FIRST MARTYRS OF THE WAR.

GOV. ANDREW'S ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE LOWELL MONUMENT TO LUTHER C. LADD AND ADDISON O. WHITNEY, JUNE 17, 1865.

[The address opens with a recital of the early events o 1861, the treachery of the Buchanan administration, the firing on Sumter, the President's call to arms, and the responses of Massachusetts. Gov. Andrew then proceeds:]

CONVINCED, if I had doubted it before, by events and conversations of which I was personally a witness at Washington, in the month of December, 1860, of the certain coming of the war which ensued, there seemed to be but two causes of anxiety with which one need be disturbed, who believed in the care of Providence, the safety and the happiness found in the ways of duty, even though rugged and severe. The first ground of apprehension was that the bolt might fall before the inauguration of President Lincoln should place the symbols of power in his faithful hands. The second ground was that it might fall upon us, finding no competent body prepared with appropriate organization and military array adequate to maintain the first shock of arms, and to hold the keys of power and the points of strategy (whose loss might become fatal to the cause), while the great body of the people, for the first time truly conscious of the exigency, could be rallied for resistance.

The General Court and the Volunteer Militia of Massachusetts, promptly co-operated in the needful work of preparation. And when the electric summons of the 15th of April came to our citizen soldiers, citing them to the field, a brigade was ready to march, almost like veterans from their garrison; and even the very exigency of an interruption of the means of transportation through Maryland, contemplated in the month of January before, was seasonably met, according to the suggestion at that time made by Lieut.-Gen. Scott, by providing for the transit of troops by water-carriage down the Susquehanna, and around to Annapolis, within one day's forced march of Washington.

The tragedy, the triumph, the glory of these four intervening years, the terrible and the consoling experiences they have wrought, are too near to us in time, and their scenes and emotions are in too vivid and distracting contact yet, for their portrayal by pencil, tongue or pen. But removed from their immediate presence, the poetic sense will hereafter perceive them in their more just proportions. It is not the photograph, with its rigid severity of outline and superficial accuracy, but the work of imaginative art which produces in truest reality the forms of beauty illuminated by the inspiring soul.

It is not for me to attempt to separate the bewildering masses of transactions and emotions through which we have lived, nor to rise above the influences of those recent events which at present control alike the imagination and the reason. But while I confess the impossibility of executing such a task in any manner becoming the occasion, I may testify to the impressions stamped forever on our memories and on our hearts by that great week in April, when Massachusetts rose up at the sound of the cannonade of Sumter, and her militia brigade springing to their arms appeared on Boston Common. It redeemed the meanness and the weariness of many a prosaic life. It was a revelation of a profound sentiment, of manly faith, of glorious fidelity, and of a love stronger than death. Those were days of which none other in the history of the war became the parallel. And when on the evening of the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, there came the news along the wires that the 6th Regiment had been cutting its way through the streets of Baltimore, whose pavements were reddened with the blood of Middlesex, it seemed as if there descended into our hearts a mysterious strength and into our minds a supernal illumination. In many trying experiences of the war we have watched by starlight as well as sunlight the doubtful fortunes of our arms. But never has the news of victory, decisive and grand—not even that of Gettysburg, on which hung issues more tremendous than ever depended on the fortunes of a single battle-field—so lifted us above ourselves, so transformed our earthly weakness into heavenly might, by a glorious transfiguration. The citizens of yesterday were today the heroes whom history would never forget; and the fallen brave had put on the crown of martyrdom, more worthy than a hundred mortal diadems. The blood alone was precious enough to wipe out the long arrears of shame. The great and necessary struggle was begun, without which we were a disgraced, a doomed, a ruined people. We had reached the parting of the ways, and we had not hesitated to choose the right one. Oh! it is terrible to feel that only war, with all its griefs and pains and crimes, will save a people, but how infinitely greater than the dread and the dismay with which we thought of war, was the *hope of that salvation*.

It was on the first day of May that Massachusetts received back to her soil the remains of these, her children, over whom we rear this monument.

One of the dead still sleeps at Baltimore. The mangled bodies of the other three, transported hither under charge of one of their fellow-soldiers, reached the State capital just before sunset, where they were received by the Governor of the Commonwealth, and were escorted through streets draped in emblems of mourning and lined by thousands of citizens with uncovered heads and moistened eyes, to the "Vassal tomb" beneath ancient "King's Chapel." On the way they were borne past the State House, over the same ground where twelve days before they had stood to receive the flag which they swore to defend, and which they had died defending.

Of these three martyrs the name of but one was known—that of Sergeant Henry Needham, of Lawrence. The rolls of the regiment were cut off with its baggage, in the struggle at Baltimore. But had not this accident occurred, they might have failed to afford means of identifying the remains; for in the haste of the original assembling and moving of the regiment they had escaped careful revision. Some men had discarded the implements and clothing of peace, and fallen into the ranks, on its march across the city, the very hour of its departure. In those early days, when the nation was wavering between life and death, we did not waste time on forms. We were asked to send two regiments of troops as soon as we could. We did send five regiments, and more, sooner than the country had believed was possible to any State; but in accomplishing that, we neglected formalities which would have been indispensable under an exigency less tremendous.

Therefore it was, that two of the three corpses—the same two which have mouldered into these ashes, in the presence of which we stand—lay before us that May evening, without a name. Later in the night, under the direction of officers of the Headquarters' staff of Massachusetts, and in the presence of the Mayors of the cities of Lawrence and of Lowell, these bodies were identified, and the names of Luther Crawford Ladd and Addison Otis Whitney, two young mechanics, both of Lowell, were added to that of Needham. And, completing the four, is the name of Charles A. Taylor, whose residence and family even now remain unknown.

Both Whitney and Ladd were young, and moved by a dauntless enthusiasm. Whitney was but twenty-one years of age, and Ladd was only in his eighteenth year.

Whitney joined the Lowell City Guards (Co. D. of the 6th Regiment,) in the Summer of 1860. He attended muster with the regiment that year, and was discharged early in the Winter of 1860, because he was learning a trade, and could ill afford the time and expense of membership. On the call of the Governor on the regimental commanders, in March, 1861, to ascertain how many men in their companies would be ready for active service in case they should be needed, Whitney promptly came forward and signified his willingness to obey the summons. He signed the rolls of the company with the understanding that if it should not be wanted he should be discharged. On the evening of April 15, when the order came for the regiment to get ready to leave the following day, he was among the first to put on his uniform. In company with a comrade, he left the armory about two o'clock during the night of the 16th for the purpose of procuring his photograph in the early morning, and he was at his company post promptly at the time appointed.

In passing through Baltimore he was on the left of the first section, and while marching through Pratt st., near the bridge, was seen to fall. Some of his comrades thinking he had stumbled, tried to assist him, but finding he was dead, they left him where he fell. A bullet had pierced his right breast, passing down the body, causing instant death. The shot was undoubtedly fired from the upper window of a house. The coat which he wore was found stripped of every button, cut off by the mob. The place in the coat where the bullet entered is plainly visible, saturated with his blood.

The precise manner of the death of Ladd is known by the bullet holes, of which there are several through the coat and the overcoat he wore, and by their gory stains. He is reported to have cultivated a strong taste for historical reading, and from his earliest boyhood to have entered with ardor into the study of our National affairs. He enlisted in the City Guards, at Lowell, three months before his death, on the occasion of the appearance of the General Order of that year from the Commonwealth Headquarters, already alluded to, and known as Order No. 4; and he expressed his desire to join that company most likely to be called to active duty. By his youth he was legally exempt from military service; and his friends would have dissuaded him at last from assuming its hardships and perils. But he met their persuasions by an appeal to the flag of his country whose fortunes he declared that he would surely follow. And when the fatal bullets had smitten him, and he lay struggling with death, of a sudden the vision of his country's flag seemed to flash before him, as a momentary glory and delight, and exclaiming aloud, with his dying voice, "All hail to the Stripes and Stars!" the soldier-boy ended his brief campaign.

The public opinion that permitted this tragedy derives its interpretation from public documents and official action which leave no doubt of the value of the Massachusetts Militia to the Union cause, no doubt of the danger their service averted, no doubt of the urgent necessity of that very march through Baltimore, no doubt that it was the hinge on which turned the ultimate fate of Maryland, and perhaps of the Union. Our Militia were ready not a day too soon, nor were they an hour too late. The people of Baltimore, so telegraphed the Mayor, to myself, on the 20th of April, regarded the passage of armed troops of another State through their streets, as an invasion of their soil, and could not be restrained. The Governor of Maryland and the Mayor of Baltimore represented to President Lincoln that the people were exasperated to the highest degree by the presence of the troops, and that it was not possible for more soldiers to pass through Baltimore. They remonstrated against the transit of more soldiers, and they required that the troops already in the State be sent back to its borders. In reply to the Mayor of Baltimore the Governor of Massachusetts telegraphed: "I am overwhelmed with surprise that a peaceful march of American citizens over the highway to the defence of our common capital should be deemed aggressive to Baltimoreans. Through New York their march was triumphal."

* * * * * *

No hand of menace or threat of vengeance was ever raised by Massachusetts. She fulfilled her duty to the country by the march of her militia. She maintained her fidelity to the Union and to her sister Commonwealth. She awaited the time when history should become the vindicator of her conduct and avenge the blood of her children.

Nor was the waiting vain. No sweeter triumph could have blessed her. The slaughter of her sons was disavowed and atoned for. The Government of the State called out four regiments to march shoulder to shoulder with our militia whose recall it had at first demanded. Secession was replaced by resolves and deeds in support of the war for the Union. Our own doctrines and principles concerning human liberty, so long denounced and despised, were embodied by the people of Maryland in their fundamental law. And finally, in her ratification on February 3, 1865, of the Amendment of the Constitution of the United States abolishing Slavery throughout the Union, Maryland led by her example Massachusetts herself. From the hour when your martyred brethren fell in Pratt-st., the redemption of Maryland—the salvation of one of the "Old Thirteen," whose ancient fame is one with ours—and the emancipation of her bondmen, were secure. The result came like the fulfillment of prophecy. It was the working of the wisdom and the love of God overruling the devices of men.

Friends and fellow-citizens: The limits of the occasion forbid me to invade the proper domain of history. I must not try to recount the story of the regiment during its three months of service, nor even allude to the incidents illustrating the careers of the organizations which composed our militia brigade. I seek not to divert your thoughts from the transactions around which centre the interests and emotions of this hour of commemoration. Ages shall elapse before eloquent tongues shall cease to discourse on the ever new and varying attractions of the heroic themes furnished by the deeds of all the soldiers of the Union. But this hour is sacred to the memories of the 19th of April, to the action and passion of that day in Baltimore, to the relation borne by the events of that day to those which surrounded and followed them, and to their significance in the grand drama of which they formed the introduction.

Let this monument, raised to preserve the names of Ladd and Whitney—two young artisans of Lowell, who fell among the first martyrs of the great rebellion—let this monument, now dedicated to their memory, stand for a thousand generations! It is another shaft added to the monumental columns of Middlesex. Henceforth shall the inhabitants of Lowell guard for Massachusetts, for patriotism, and for liberty, this sacred trust, as they of Acton, of Lexington, of Concord protect the votive stones which commemorate the men of April '75.

Let it stand as long as the Merrimac runs from the mountains to the sea; while this busy stream of human life sweeps on by the banks of the river, bearing to eternity its freight of destiny and hope. It shall speak to your children, not of death, but of immortality. It shall stand here a mute, expressive witness of the beauty and the dignity of youth and manly prime consecrated in unselfish obedience to duty. It shall testify that gratitude will remember, and praise will wait on the humblest, who, by the intrinsic greatness of their souls, or the worth of their offerings, have risen to the sublime peerage of virtue.

DANTE AND ITALY.

BY VICTOR HUGO.

[From his letter to the Gonfaloniere of Florence, on occasion of the six-hundreth anniversary, in May last, of the birth of the Italian Poet.]

THEY have the same heart, the same will, the same destiny. She resembles him in that formidable latent power which she, like him, developed in misfortune. Like him, she has been proscribed; like her, he is crowned. Like him, she emerges from the pit. Glory to this radient ascent!

Alas! she has seen the seven circles; she has suffered and passed through that baleful parcelling; she has been a shadow, a mere geographical term. To-day, she is Italy! She is Italy as France is France, as England is England.

A long eclipse obscured Italy, an eclipse during which the world waxed cold; but Italy lived. More than that—even in that gloom Italy radiated light.

Italy was encoffined, but she was not dead. Her signs of life were literature, science, monuments, discoveries.

What a beaming upon art from Dante to Michel Angelo! What vast, double-opening of the earth and heavens, caused below by Columbus, by Galileo on high.

It is Italy, dead Italy, who accomplished these prodigies. Verily, she lived! From the bottom of her sepulchre she protested by her radiance. Italy is a tomb from which has issued dawn. Italy, overwhelmed, chained, bleeding, and buried, has wrought the education of the world. With a gag in her mouth she knew to make her soul speak. She deranged the folds of her shroud to serve civilization. Whosoever we be, who know to read and write, we revere thee, mother! We are Romans with Juvenal, and Florentines with Dante.

It is the glory of Italy that she is the land of precursors. In every part and every epoch of her life you see great commencements. She is incessantly engaged on the sublime task of sketching out progress. May she be blessed for this holy initiative! She is both apostle and artist. Barbarism is repugnant to her; it is she who first cast light upon the excesses of penalty beyond the grave as well as on earth.

It is she who has twice uttered the cry of alarm against capital penalties; first, against Satan, then against Farinace. There is a strong link between "The Divine Comedy," which denounce the dogma, and the "Treatise on Guilt and Punishment," which denounces the law. She rejects both damnation and condemnation. She has combated the monster in both forms—hell and scaffold. Dante fought the first combat, Beccaria the second.

In other points of view, too, Dante is a precursor. The idea over which Dante brooded in the thirteenth century has come to light in the nineteenth. He knew that every demand of right and justice must be realized. He knew that the law of growth is divine, and he wanted the unity of Italy. His Utopia is to-day a fact.

The unity which Gerard Groot and Reuchlin claimed for Germany, and Dante wanted for Italy, is not merely the life of the nations, but the aim of humanity. Where divisions cease, evil vanishes. Slavery disappears in America; why? Because unity revives. War tends towards extinction in Europe; why? Because unity advances towards formation. A startling parallelism between the decay of scourges and the advent of united humanity.

Humanity will march further and further on this road, which is the road of light. And thus progressing, step by step, and without a shock, we will arrive at the great realization. And thus shall we, sons of dispersion, enter into concord; and thus, through the force of things and the power of ideas alone, shall we reach fraternity, peace, and harmony. There will be no more strangers. All men on earth will be compatriots. Such is the supreme truth, such the necessary termination. The unity of man corresponds to the unity of God.

LONDON AS IT IS.

From the Examiner.

SIR W. FRASER has rendered a service in drawing attention to the disgraceful state of the metropolis. Half a century ago London believed itself the best cleansed, the best lighted, the best paved, the best watched capital of Europe; and comparatively it was all this, other cities being in a worse condition in all those respects. Content with this superiority, London went to sleep; and to rouse it up, and get it fairly to look at itself, is now urgently necessary. All London's old superiorities have departed from it excepting one. It is now not so clean as Paris, not so well paved, and not so well lighted, but it is better watched. The police is, indeed, the only institution adapted to the increased and increasing dimensions of the metropolis. For the rest, the lighting, paving, cleansing, there is only the old apparatus fitted to the town when it was a fourth of its present size. But let us hear Sir W. Fraser, whose account of London in the main particulars is deplorably true:

"Now, as to the paving, to which he wished to call the attention of the House in the first instance, he would ask any Hon. member whether London was in that respect what it ought to be. *Were not, in short, the streets of almost every borough throughout the country better paved than Pall-mall, St. James's street, or Piccadilly?* If so, was it not a disgrace to us that the streets of a great metropolis should be so situated? On one side of St. James's street there was one sort of pavement, while upon the other side the paving was quite different. When the cause of so anomalous state of things was sought to be ascertained it was found to be attributable to the fact that one part of the street was in one parish, the other in a parish wholly distinct. He had seen streets in which there were five different descriptions of paving. There was a parish in which there were two great leading thoroughfares which he would distinguish by calling them A and B, and he knew as a fact that vestrymen inhabiting B were opposed to the improvement of A street, on the ground that if it were improved the traffic and custom of their own street would be diminished. Lambeth district afforded a good illustration of his argument. Some six weeks ago he saw a street in that district leading from the Palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the condition of which he was suprised. Such, then, was the state of the paving of London in the hands of the parochial authorities, and he defied any one to say that it was satisfactory. But he had also to complain of the mode in which London was lighted. *He knew of no continental town which was so badly off in that respect.* We had lamp-posts in the metropolis such as were used in the days of our forefathers. But, independently of that fact, he was informed that *the gas supplied was of the very worst description.* In the case of the lamp-posts, too, there would appear to be a suspicion, as it were, of the laws of gravitation. Indeed, he had never seen five consecutive lamp-posts which were not out of the perpendicular, and leaning in every possible direction. On the top of those posts were lamps *which never seemed to have been destined to light the footway.* But, passing from the lighting to the cleansing of the metropolis, he found that under the 125th section of the Act the cleansing of the streets was left in the hands of the local boards. The Act had been in force for a period of ten years, but *in no town were the streets so disgracefully neglected as in London.* There were gutters in which the water would not run except when inundated by some great fall of rain. We had a considerable fall of both rain and snow last winter, and we probably would have in this country for many winters to come, and the result was that the streets were to be seen covered with slush and mire, which was ankle-deep on the footways. At the present moment, when dry weather prevailed, the condition of the streets, owing to the dust which was allowed to collect in them, was almost equally intolerable. It had been proved by experiment that if an ounce of this dust were mixed with a certain quantity of water a quantity of animalcule came into existence, so that everybody who imbibed the dust took into his constitution a considerable amount of evil. Nor must the enormous amount of labor to which servants were subjected in trying to keep away the dust be lost sight of in dealing with the question."

At the lower part of Whitehall in wet weather there is a lake, and in dry the dust of a desert. Nowhere is there any removal of the dirt of the streets which accumulates on the footways. It becomes mud in rain, or dust under the sun, but there it remains in one shape or the other.

And what is done for cleansing is done in the dirtiest, the foulest, the filthiest, the unhealthiest way. Throughout the day the scavengers' carts are crawling through the streets with their foul unwholesome contents. Does the air escape the pollution, and do we not all breathe what the scavengers' loads have imparted to it? There is no work which ought to be done with more despatch, and there is none performed in a more leisurely way. Scavengers and dustmen always take their time. Haste is unknown to them. Indeed they seem to spin out their jobs to the utmost, and to give to the town the fullest benefit of the air and scent of their collections. The dustmen are of a very social turn, and hold converse with the cooks and scullerymaids, while their carts stand at the door enriching the atmosphere. The men have evidently the whole day before them, and they do their work so as to make it as dirty a business as possible, scattering odours and ordures round.

Now, why is there not, as in Paris, a fixed time for the clearing of dustbins,—and the removal of rotten vegetables and garbage? If there were a fixed time the work would necessarily be expedited as much as possible, instead of, as now, protracted to the utmost, dawdled over as if too much could not be made of so nasty and noxious an operation. We all know the importance of purifying the river, but it does not less concern us to preserve the air from contamination, and this is not done while all the worst refuse of an enormous capital is slowly conveyed through the streets, tainting and infecting the atmosphere under a hot sun. For nice people we have very dirty ways. The Parisians are behind us in one of domestic nicety, but, on the other hand, noses in the streets of Paris are not offended throughout the day by long processions of scavengers' carts. In that beautiful and well-regulated city there is found a time for all things, and whatever is offensive to sense and health is removed before the streets are peopled.

For the way in which offensive rubbish is removed our parishes are answerable, and we are told that proceedings may be taken against them for nuisance, under a recent act. Of course the rubbish must be removed, but the method of removing it should be arranged so as not to taint the air more than is absolutely necessary, nor indeed to offend the eye and nose. As it is, the vestries leave it to the contractors to consult their own convenience and profit, without the slightest regard to what concerns the public.

To parochial management we owe our wretched lighting and paving. Before the early closing of the principal shops their light eked out the deficiency of the parochial lights; but now, after an early hour, nothing can be more dingy and dim than the aspect of the town. The lamp-posts are indeed at such intervals that the rays of one never reach its nearest neighbor, such rays being, indeed, of the weakest, from the wretched quality of gas.

In our houses we are under the two tyrannies of the gas and water companies. For both we pay exorbitant prices for supplies of the worst quality, but the gas is the worst of the two, for we are at the mercy of the companies not only as to what they choose to give us, but what they choose to charge, their reading of their own gasometers being absolute, and without appeal.

A gentleman who had repeatedly in vain questioned the charges of a certain company resolved upon a decisive test, and discontinued the use of gas during a whole summer quarter. What was the result? He got about the usual bill for so many hundred or thousand cubic feet of gas. He protested, stated what he had done to try the fairness of the charges, but was coolly told that the gasometer bore witness against him, and that it never told lies.

For water, Mr. Chadwick has shown that we pay about three times as much as we ought to do, even though we get it sometimes with little fish in it, for which we have not bargained. To the poor the price of water in London is a serious sanitary evil. But we are in the bondage of companies, from which there is no present prospect of escape.

It is suggested that for the remedy of parochial mismanagement a transfer to the Metropolitan Board of Works is the right course, but that would only be exchanging the frying-pan for the fire, for the Metropolitan Board of Works is vestry-vestrified to the *n*th power. There is this, however, to be said for the change, that the management of the Board would be uniform, and consequently there would be more combined and effectual resistance to its blunders or misdoings. It would be a larger mark for complaint, and there would be some responsibility. In the parochial system of London there is practically no responsibility whatever. Of the three millions making the metropolitan population, how many have a part in the boasted local self-government? Parliament is incomparably more accessible. The vestry is an inscrutable mystery. In theory, indeed, Lord Brougham has given us the key to it, but people shrink from the trouble, despairing of setting right so much as there is amiss calling for reformation.

CASUALTIES OF THE WAR.

From the Commercial Advertiser.

OFFICIAL estimates at the War Department compute the number of deaths in the Union armies since the commencement of the war, including the starving prisoners, at three hundred and twenty-five thousand. There has doubtless been fully two hundred thousand Southern soldiers removed by disease and the casualties of battle, so that not less than five hundred and twenty-five thousand lives have been sacrificed in this unholy contest, begun and prolonged by the South in their vain effort to build up a new republic and strengthen the slave power.

Our greatest losses during any one campaign occurred at Gettysburg, when 23,267 Union soldiers were killed, wounded and taken prisoners. Hooker's campaign of 1863 in the Wilderness ranks next to Gettysburg as far as regards Union losses, they having amounted to about twenty thousand, though generally reported at only ten. Burnside lost 1,200 in the battle of Fredericksburg, McClellan 11,426 at Antietam, Porter 9,000 at Gaines's Mills, Rosecrans 12,085 at Murfreesboro and 16,851 at Chickmauga, and Sherman about 9,000 in the two days' battles around Atlanta.

The official reports of Gen. Grant's losses from the time he crossed the Rapidan until receiving the surrender of Lee compute them at ninety thousand. In the various engagements fought by Gen. Grant in the West, he lost 13,573 men at Pittsburg Landing, 9,875 in the severe contests around Vicksburg, and in the attack on Missionary Ridge about 7,000.

Though our losses in many of the campaigns have been heavy, they yet fall below those incurred in some of the European wars. This has been due, to a considerable extent, to the efficiency of the medical department and the lavish amount of supplies, at least one-third greater than those furnished to any European army. A report recently made to the Imperial Academy of Medicine, by Chenu, Physician of the French army, estimates the losses of that army in the Crimean war as follows: killed on the field of battle or missing, 10,240; lost in the Semilante, 702; died of various diseases at Alma, 8,084; died of cold, apoplexy, &c., before Sebastopol, 4,342; died in the field and general hospitals, 72,247; total, 95,615. Thus, of 309,264 men sent by France to the Crimea, about one-third found a soldier's grave.

The siege and reduction of Jerusalem resulted, says Josephus, in the loss of 1,000,000 lives. 90,000 Persians were placed *hors de combat* at the battle of Arbela, and 100,000 Carthagenians in the engagement of Palermo. 12,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry perished on the fatal field of Issue. Spain lost 2,000,000 lives during the persecution of the Arabians, and 800,000 in expelling the Jews. Frederick the Great inflicted a loss of 40,000 on the Austrians in the conflicts of Leuthen and Leignitz. The battle of Jenna and the lesser engagements immediately following cost the Prussian army over 80,000 men. At the battle of Leipsic, the French suffered casualties to the number of 60,000, and the Swedes and their allies 40,000 more. 50,000 French and Russian soldiers lay dead and dying on the field after the battle of Moskowa, and Napoleon again lost 47,000 men at Waterloo, and the Duke of Wellington 15,000 more.

There is a strong feeling of hostility entertained among the rank and file of our armies toward the medical profession, for which there is undoubtedly some grounds. The sudden and pressing demand for army surgeons called a large number of inexperienced Æsculapians into the field, and no doubt hundreds of soldiers have been deprived of their limbs when amputation was unnecessary. Yet when we compare the general sanitary condition of our armies with that of other military organizations, and consider the care of the government for its troops, and the comparatively small number of deaths from sickness, there is certainly occasion for thanksgiving. As we have seen above, seventy-four thousand French soldiers, or one-fourth of the whole number perished from sickness in the Crimean war. Thirty thousand Russian troops also died in the Crimea during a few weeks' time from camp disease, and, if we mistake not, thirty-five per cent. of the English troops were prostrated with sickness when Florence Nightingale entered upon her mission of mercy. Of thirty thousand troops that composed the English army under Wellington, in 1809, six thousand were sick in the hospitals. In 1811, the Portugese army, numbering forty-four thousand, had nine thousand on the sick list. Nearly one-half of our entire forces of the Revolution, forty-seven per cent. were at one time unfit for duty.

There have been no full tables published of the sanitary condition of our armies during the four years struggle, but separate reports show that the losses from sickness bear no comparison with those above. Of the entire Army of the Potomac there were only five per cent. on the sick list during the first months of 1863.

GEN. SHERMAN AND PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Special Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

OFF FORT MACON, N. C., June 7.

A DISPATCH from Gen. Sherman (on his way North from Savannah, and forced by bad weather to put in at Beaufort,) had reached Newbern while we were there, expressing a very earnest desire to see Chief Justice Chase; and on the return of the entire party, Gen. Sherman's vessel was lying at the wharf, opposite the railroad terminus, awaiting us. Nervous and restless as ever, the General looked changed (and improved) since the old campaigns in the Southwest.

The General complained, and doubtless with some truth, if not justice, that the Government had never distinctly explained to him what policy it desired to have pursued. "I asked Mr. Lincoln explicitly, when I went up to City Point, whether he wanted me to capture Jeff. Davis or let him escape, and in reply he told me a story."

That "story" may now have a historical value, and I give it therefore as Gen. Sherman said Mr. Lincoln told it—only premising that it was a favorite story with Mr. Lincoln, which he told many times, and in illustration of many points of public policy.

"I'll tell you, General," Mr. Lincoln was said to have begun, "I'll tell you what I think about taking Jeff. Davis. Out in Sangamon county there was an old temperance lecturer who was very strict in the doctrine and practice of total abstinence. One day, after a long ride in the hot sun, he stopped at the house of a friend who proposed making him a lemonade. As the mild beverage was being mixed, the friend insinuatingly asked if he wouldn't like just the least drop of something stronger, to brace up his nerves after the exhausting heat and exercise. 'No,' replied the lecturer, 'I couldn't think of it; I'm opposed to it on principle. 'But,' he added, with a long glance at the black bottle that stood conveniently at hand, 'if you could manage to put in a drop *unbeknownst* to me, I guess it wouldn't hurt me much!'"

"Now General," Mr. Lincoln is said to have concluded, "I'm bound to oppose the escape of Jeff. Davis; but if you could manage to let him slip out unbeknownst like, I guess it wouldn't hurt me much!"

"And that," exclaimed Gen. Sherman, "is all I could get out of the Government as to what its policy was concerning the rebel leaders, till Stanton assailed me for Davis' escape!"

MORE ABOUT REBEL BRUTALITY.—Senator Wade is at Washington, revising the recent testimony taken by the congressional war committee, especially that as to the inhuman treatment of our prisoners, which we are not bound to forget, if we do forgive. The committee say the evidence clearly shows that tens of thousands of our brave soldiers have fallen victims to that savage and infernal spirit which actuated those who spared not the prisoners at their mercy, who sought by midnight arson to destroy hundreds of defenseless women and children, and who hesitated not to commit acts so horrible that the nations of the earth stand aghast as they are told what has been done. The prison surgeons' reports of the Richmond prisons for one-quarter shows that a fraction over one-half of all the cases entered resulted in death, and most of these deaths were more the result of inhuman treatment and neglect than disease. But a little more than half the necessary number of beds were provided, and the nurses often occupied them to the exclusion of the sick. After our men died, their bodies were treated as the carcasses of so many dead animals. They were piled in the dead houses, and their eyes and cheeks eaten out by rats before they were put in coffins. The keepers generally manifested almost total indifference to the lives and condition of the prisoners, and as one of the many illustrations of this, a witness testified to the following: "I was standing one day by the hospital. One of our negro soldiers, captured at the explosion of the mine near Petersburg, was standing near by, engaged in skirmishing—as we prisoners call it—examining his clothes for vermin. A rebel sentinel at whom I happened to be looking at the time, drew up his musket, took deliberate aim, and fired, killing the negro on the spot." The rebels said they got thirty